



**THE HISTORY OF ANDHRA COUNTRY**  
**1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.**



# THE HISTORY OF ANDHRA COUNTRY 1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.

YASHODA DEVI



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## P R E F A C E

The present thesis—the History of Andhra Country—1000 to 1500 A.D.—Subsidiary Dynasties—constitutes the result of my researches from 1942 to 1944, when I was a Research Fellow in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology of the University of Madras.

On this subject which is vast and comparatively unexplored, with an overwhelming mass of material, a few chapters in the History of the Andhras, and some articles and books dealing with the lives of the poets of the age in particular, represent all the work done so far. In the course of the work, I have utilised the writings of others mentioning the sources in the footnotes. The second part is comparatively new and interesting, the field untrodden by previous writers. I hope that this thesis fills an important gap in the history of south India.

Some dynasties like the Reddis of Korukonda, Koppula Naiks, Eruva Chola of Rajahmundry, though belong to this period, are omitted as they have been dealt with already in my thesis for M. Litt.—the Reddis (of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry). Besides I have not included in this work, the dynasties on the borders of Andhradesa e.g. the Jagavamsis of Bastar, the Yadavarayas, the Haihayas in the Nizam's dominions and the Velamas (of Rachakonda and Dvarakonda). In many cases, the history before and after the period of the half millennium, is also referred to wherever relevant.

For the invaluable help, guidance and encouragement, throughout the period of my study under him in getting the material and writing the thesis, and for the many important suggestions, I tender my grateful thanks to Professor K.A. Nilakantha Sastri. My thanks are due to him for getting the

unpublished inscriptions from the Government Epigraphists' Office and permitting me to go through the summaries of Mackenzie Manuscripts of the Department. In this connection I also remember the work in getting some books useful suggestions in writing it, done by my sister late Srimati K. Janaki Devi of the Government Secondary School for Girls, Bellary.

**Yashoda Devi**

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# The Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas of Tsandavole. A.D. 1020-1286

## Introduction

The Chōḍas of Velanāṇḍu with their capital at Dhanadapura<sup>1</sup>—modern Tsandavole—held sway over the Andhra land for a century and a half—from about the middle, of the 11th to the close of the 12th century A.D. Of the eighteen generations of the Velanandu dynasty—six kings—from the fourteenth to the eighteenth—in the line of descent stand out as great rulers, and makers of history with important achievements to their credit in all spheres—political and otherwise. From small beginnings, with territory comprising 480 villages, the Velanandu kingdom attained its zenith in political power and territorial expansion under Gonka II<sup>2</sup> when it touched Mahēndragiri on the north-east, Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam on the west and Kalahasti on the south. The training in the arts of war and peace which the Velanandu Choda rulers had gained under the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Chalukyacholas, helped them a great deal when they had to assert themselves and build up their kingdom in the face of powerful hostile kingdoms on all sides ever ready to pounce on them. The Velanandu Chodas kept the torch of Chalukya-Chola culture and Government, burning with unswerving zeal

against the constant encroachments on their power by the Chalukyas of Kalyani in the earlier and the Kakatiyas in the later stages. The Velanandu kingdom furnishes one of the best instances of how a faithful and nominally subordinate power developed into a virtually independent state with no hostility towards the suzerain — here the great chölas.

*Political Condition of Vengi in the 11th Century A.D* :- Vengi in the 11th century A.D was in an unsettled political condition till the accession of Kulottunga I in A.D. 1070. The Eastern Chalukyas were its rulers seemingly subordinate to the Cholas. A record dated A.D. 1006 at Chebrole<sup>3</sup> of Satyasraya II of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and another at Draksharama<sup>4</sup> of Somesvara I and several records of Vikramaditya VI attest the continuous interest of the Chalukyas of Kalyani in extending their power into Vengi.

In the words of Professor Nilakantha Sastri “The accession of Kulottunga marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Chola empire. At the end, nearly of a century of dubious subordination the kingdom of Vengi now became definitely a province of the empire resuscitated by its own ruler. After Kulottunga became Chola emperor Vengi was successively ruled by his sons as viceroys and this added greatly to the strength of the Chola empire by shutting the door against the intrigues of the western Chalukyas in that quarter.”<sup>5</sup>

On the death of Vijayaditya VII after his rule for fifteen years in Vengi, Kulottunga appointed his son Rajaraja Mummadi Choda as viceroy who was appointed probably on July 27, A.D. 1076.<sup>6</sup> At the end of two years, Rajaraja relinquished his office and was succeeded by his younger brother Vira Choda who held Vengi for six years (A.D 1078-79 — 1084) Virachoda's successor in Vengi was the brother of Rajaraja Choda Ganga (A.D. 1084-1089). At the end of five years Choda Ganga was recalled and Virachoda succeeded him. Virachoda's second term of viceroy lasted from A.D. 1085-89 to 1092-93 when Vikramachoda was appointed to succeed Virachoda and ruled till A.D. 1118 in which year he was chosen heir apparent to the Chola throne.<sup>7</sup>

*Rise of the Velanāṇḍu Power* :- The Vaidumbas<sup>8</sup> were the

local rulers of the Tsandavole country to the south of the Krishna and of the Cuddapah tract in the latter part of the 10th century A.D. They owed allegiance to Krishna III of the Rashtrakutas and later on to Rajaraja I the great of the Cholas. Later on the Telugu Chodas in the Tsandavole and Cuddapah tracts in the 11th century A.D. serving as feudatories of the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Chalukya Cholas.

*Origin and Early History up to Gonka I*:— The Velanandu Chodas traced their descent from the fourth caste—*Chaturthanyaya*<sup>9</sup>—born from the feet of Brahma who was born from the navel lotus of Vishnu. The comparison between the Sudra caste taking birth from Brahma's feet and River Ganges from the feet of Vishnu is cited in their inscriptions. It is not easy to know as to why the Velanandus did not claim solar kshatirya lineage in common with other chola dynasties, despite that they styled themselves Chodas, assumed Chola names and titles and also why they did not claim lunar kshatirya descent like the Chalukyan dynasties while the names of some of their ancestors Kirtivarman and Ranadurjaya might suggest some connection of theirs with the Chalukyas—Eastern and Western.

None of the Velanandu Choda inscriptions mention any super human ancestors of the dynasty consequently the statement that Gods Vishnu, Brahma, Chandra and Buddha figure among Velanandu ancestors made by some writers<sup>10</sup> is wrong based on—record at Bezwada<sup>11</sup> belonging to the Chalukyas of Nidadavole or Vengi, and not to the Velanandus as has been mistaken probably because of the existence of kings in the two lines bearing some names e.g. Gonka.

The Pithapur pillar inscriptions of Prithviswara<sup>12</sup> supplies the names of the early ancestors of the Velanandu family up to Malla I—the 7th in the list. Prince Indrasena born in the fourth caste was adopted as son by king Yudhishtara and bestowed with regal insignia. He ruled in Madhyadesa for a long time with capital at Kirtipura. After some kings born in his race passed away, Kirtivarman I was born. A descendant of his was Mallavarman. His son was Rahadurjaya II. Kirtivarman III was the son of Ranadurjaya II and his son was Malla I, a contemporary of Trilochanapallava.

At this stage, we should consider some interesting suggestions advanced by previous writers, based on the names—Kirtivarman and Ranadurjaya—in the above list. Firstly, “Kirtivarman is distinctly a Western Chalukyan name while Ranadurjaya sounds more like a title. It may not be wrong if we suppose that the ancestors of this family might have migrated from the west into the Telugu country either during or in the wake of the invasions of Pulakesin II. The establishment of the Vengi branch of the Chalukya house and the names of the early ancestors indicate it.”<sup>13</sup> But until and unless further material of a reliable nature concerning these early members of their chronology is forthcoming, it is hazardous to suggest a theory of migration based on sheer similarity of names between two members of two dynasties—the Velanandus and the Western Chalukyas secondly like Kirtivarman, Ranadurjaya figures in another dynasty also. Maharaja Ranadurjaya was the grand father of Prithvi Maharaja of the Tandivada plates<sup>14</sup> and he is said to have brightened the quarters by its moon light like glory, which he acquired by protecting the world. It has been said, “The name Ranadurjaya occurs in the inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is not known whether the Ranadurjaya of the present inscription had any connection with the ancestors of the Velanandu chiefs.”<sup>15</sup> Once again no identification of the two Ranadurjayas is possible for want of chronological data.

As the predecessors of Malla I are said to have ruled at Kirtipura in Madhyadēśa and do not find mention in records earlier than the Pithāpur pillar of Prithviśvara, the last of the Velanāndus, we may promulgate tentatively that they, and the rule of Malla I at Kirtipura and his migration to the south were born from the imagination of the composer of the Pithapur pillar inscription, who thus glorified the pedigree of Prithviśvara.

King *Malla I* is said to have allied himself with Trinetra pallava and started for the south to conquer it and subdue the kings of the Ganges, Kalingas, Vangas, Magadhas, Andhras, Pulindas, Kuntala, Kerala, the Gaudas, Pandyas, Bhoja, Marata, Lata and Kataka.<sup>16</sup> He possessed regal ensigns received from Yudhishtara and handed down to him by the

·succession of his race. He obtained *Shatsahasrajagati* and ruled with his capital at *Dhanadapura*. Malla I is the king to find mention in other Velanandu inscriptions besides the Pithapur pillar, in much briefer terms. Two records at Draksharama<sup>17</sup> mention that King Malla was born in the fourth caste and secured *Velanāṇḍuvishaya* with the insignia of a feudatory by helping Trinayanapallava. The only c.p. grant of the dynasty<sup>18</sup> refers to him as Mallibhūpa and his suzerain and Tryambaka pallava, the other details agreeing with those in Draksharama inscriptions.

*Shatsahasrajagati*<sup>19</sup> and *Velanandū Vishaya*<sup>20</sup> are identical and Malla I seems to have ruled it with capital at Tsandavole. The only connecting link between him and his predecessors is in the statement that he inherited the insignia conferred on Indrasēna by Yudhishtara. The chronology of Malla is dependent on that of Trilochana pallava with whom many dynasties of the Telugu country claim connection and whose historicity<sup>21</sup> is yet to be fixed in South Indian History.

Malla's son was *Eriyavarman*, and Eriyavarman's son was *Kudiyavarman I*. Kudiyavarman's son was Malla II. Of these Eriyavarman and Kudiyavarman figure in a single inscription<sup>22</sup> whereas in another they are alluded to indirectly.<sup>23</sup> Malla II is spoken of as a great warrior, destroyer of hostile armies, who acquired the epithet *Piḍuvarāditya*, which, according to the inscription is hard to be acquired even by gods.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes Malla II is mentioned simply as *Piduvaraditya*<sup>25</sup> which testifies to his valour. The c p. grant calls him Mallaya.

*Malla II* *Piduvaraditya* had a son *Kudiyavarman II* according to the Pithapur inscription and he secured *Gudravāra district* by serving *Vimalāditya*. But from the c.p. grant and the *Drākshārāma* inscription, it is evident that Malla II had a son *Eriya* and *Kudiya* is not mentioned in them. Eriya's son was *Malliya* who was the chief servant of Chālukya Bhīma. By his wife *Kollapāmba* or *Koṭyamāmba* he had two sons, *Eriya* and *Kōrapa*. Of the two, Eriya is spoken of as the *vamśakarta*. So far the c.p. grant and the pillar inscription agree. But differences crop up at this stage. The Draksharama inscription says that Eriya secured *Gudravātivishaya* from *Vishnuvardhana* and

that his sons by Gundamba were Malla, Gonka and Ganda. According to the c.p. grant Eriya by Kattamba had six sons, Malliya Kudiya, Ganda, Panda, Nanna and Kapa<sup>26</sup> of whom Kudiya received the province of *Gudravaramandali* from Vimaladitya and Nanna was a general of Vishnuvardhana.

Here must be noted that Kudiya, a feudatory of Vimaladitya according to both the records, c.p. and the pillar, was the son of Malla II according to the first and great grandson of Malla II according to the second. There could be no doubt about the identity of the two kudiya's, and the Pithapur pillar. The later of the two was wrong in making Kudiya, the son of Malla II where as in truth he was removed from Malla II by three generations.

Proceeding further, according to the c.p. grant,<sup>27</sup> *Nanna* married Gundambika and had by her five sons—Vedura, Ganda, Gonka, Malla and Panda. The Pithapur pillar<sup>28</sup> says that Kudiavarman II transferred the burden of his kingdom to his son whose son was Erraya. Erraya's son was Nanniraja; who is spoken of as famous destroyer of enemies and possessor of kingdom acquired by his strength. Nannaraja had five sons, Vedura, Ganda, Gonka, Malla and Panda.

Nanna and *Nanniraja* are identical just as the Pithapur pillar inscription makes Kudiya II, son of Malla II Piduvraditya, the Draksharama record commits the blunder by making Malla, Gonka and Panda—sons of Eriya, whereas from the c.p. grant and Pithapur pillar it is clear that they were sons of Nannaraja and grandsons of Eriya.

The differences in the genealogy between the c.p. and the Pithapur pillar are summed up thus.<sup>29</sup> "The Pithapur inscription differs in stating that Nannaraja was not a brother (as our plates state) but a grandson of Kudiya or Kudiavarman the vassal of Vimaladitya. It might also be stated that the grandfather of Kudiya was a certain Malliya, a vassal of Chalukya Bhima II and Malliya's grand father was (Malla) alias Piduvraditya, a surname applied in the Pithapur pillar inscription to certain Malla, the father of Kudiya."

**The Early Velanandus and the Eastern Chalukyas**

The dynasty of the Chalukyas of Vengi which branched off

from the Chalukyas of Badami controlled the destinies of *Venginadu* for four and a half centuries—from A.D. 616 to 1076 when it merged into the Chola dynasty under Kulottunga. The founder Kubjavishnu alias Vishnuvardhana ruled from A.D. 616 to 633<sup>30</sup> with capital at Pithapur. Chalukya Bhima II ruled from 888 to 918 A.D. His coronation took place in 892 A.D. He too was known as Vishnuvardhana and some of his titles were Tribhuvanamkunsa, Dronarjuna, sarvalokasraya, Parama brahmanya and Rethsiddhi. His reign was peaceful but for the temporary occupation of Vengi by Krishna II of the Rashtrakutas and his generals which was put to an end by Bhima and his generals.<sup>31</sup> Bhima II ruled for twelve years (933-945 A.D.) and his epithets besides Vishnuvardhana were Sarvalokasraya, Tribhuvanamkuśa, Rajamartanda and Gandamahendra.<sup>32</sup> He was also known as Rajabhima. King Saktivarman ruled from A.D. 1000 to 1010, was also known as Sarvalokasraya, Vishnuvardhana maharaja and had the titles of Chalukya Narayana and Chalukya Chandra.<sup>33</sup> His successor was Vimaladitya who ruled from A.D. 1011 to 1081. His titles were Birudanka-bhima, Mummadi bhima, Bhupamahendra, Rajamartanda and Vishnuvardhana.<sup>34</sup> By his time, the Chalukyas had contracted alliances of marriage with the Cholas and since his reign as a result of the Chola invasion of Vengi the Chalukyas ruled as the feudatories of the Cholas. Vimaladitya was succeeded by his eldest son Rajaraja (A.D. 1018-1057) alias Vishnuvardhana.<sup>35</sup> He was on friendly terms with the Cholas. His son and successor was Rajendra Chola entitled Kulottunga.

Not less than four members of the Velanandu dynasty were in the service of the Chalukyas of Vengi. The earliest among them was Eriya mentioned as a chief follower of Chalukya bhima<sup>36</sup> who may be identified with Chalukya Bhima I. Eriya as a general must have rendered distinguished service to Bhima I in driving off Rashtrakuta Krishna II from Vengi. So he styled himself as chalukyabhimanucharapadvana. Malliya, son of Eriya is also spoken of as the chief follower of Chalukya Bhima, who has been identified with Bhima II.<sup>37</sup> He must have held an important position in the kingdom either civil or

military or both. Eriya, son of Malliya is said to have got Gudravatavishaya from Vishnuvardhana whom he served as a subordinate.<sup>38</sup> After Bhima II the first among the Chalukyas to bear the name Vishnuvardhana was Tala II brother and successor of Tadapa. His reign was too short and uneventful and falls between A.D. 973 to 1003—the period when Vengi, it was considered, without a ruler. So it is improbable that Eriya would have served Vishnuvardhana during interrugnium and was rewarded with Gudravati by the king.<sup>39</sup> Tala's successor was Yuddha Malla III. Saktivarman was the second king to call himself Vishnuvardhana. So the Vishnuvardhana served by Eriya must be identified with Saktivarman. Eriya must have assisted Saktivarman in fighting for his throne and establishing himself firmly at the end of a long period of 27 years of so called interregnum. So in reward for Eriya's services Saktivarman conferred on him Gudravati Vishaya. Thus Eriya was the first among the Velanandus to have acquired and administered Guddavati tract which marks the early beginnings of the Velanandu kingdom. Eriya must have been an important figure in the Chalukyan kingdom. Among Eriya's sons, Kudiya and Nanna rendered signal services to Vimaladitya and Rajaraja respectively. Inscriptions speak highly of Kudiavarman II. The Pithapur pillar inscription says that Kudiavarman helped Vimaladitya for a long time on battle fields and defeated his foes. Pleased with his services Vimaladitya bestowed on Kudiavarman II Gudravaradvaya, the pair of (districts called) Gudrvara (or Gudrvara) mandali. As Gudravati Vishaya was conferred on Eriya by Saktivarman, Vimaladitya confirmed the grant by adding one more district to it and so the two were called Gudravaradvaya or Mandali. Nanna was the last among the Velanandus to have served the Chalukyas. He was a general of Vishnuvardhana<sup>40</sup> identified with Rajaraja I, the successor of Vimaladitya. He must have assisted him in his wars against his brother Vijayaditya and other battles.

Thus, the Velanandu rulers were in the services of the Chalukyas as generals and feudatories holding the shatsahasra as well as Gudravaramandali with capital at Tsandavole in the

last when Chalukyan kingdom ceased to be an independent power.

A record at Peravali<sup>41</sup> dated s 878 mentions Maraya Panda uncle or father-in-law of Gonka I. Probably this Panda has been identified with Panda, the younger brother of Kudiyavarman II. But s'878 is too early for Panda and no other bearing that name is found prior to him in the Velanandu genealogy. So accepting that Maraya Panda is identified with Panda, it must be considered that the date s 878 is wrong and it ought to be s 978 in which case it fits in perfectly in the Velanandu chronology. For A.D 1056 falls in the reign of Rajaraja I of Vengi and it is probable that Maraya Panda was in his service like Nannaraja. From the name Maraya Panda we may infer that his father Eriya was also known as Maraya. This is the only record prior to the reign of Gonka.

#### **Gonka I. A.D. 1076-77—1106-7**

Gonka I was the third and most distinguished son of general Nannaraja and the founder of the Velanandu kingdom. He was the first to issue inscriptions and was variously known as Velanambi Gonka, Kulottunga Choda Gonkaraja, Kulottunga Choda Gonkayya, Uttamachoda Velanandi Gonkayya and mahamandalesvara Gonkaraja in his inscriptions and simply as Gonka in the records of his successors. He must have possessed great capacities as an warrior and administrator and striking personality to have founded a kingdom and become its rural over-riding his two elder brothers Vedula and Ganda who had hereditary claims to the chieftdom of Vedula. His recognition of Chalukya Chola suzerainty is an asset to his tact and wisdom. Gonka I well extended and consolidated the Velanandu kingdom and passed it on to his son and successor Choda I after a rule of 32 years. His being spoken of as Vamsakarta in later inscriptions speaks for his importance. Tradition records<sup>42</sup> that Gonka conquered the whole of Andhra country.

#### **Extent and Extension of the Kingdom**

To begin with by Gonka's reign, the Velanandu territories included the Shaksahasravishaya and Gudravara mandali. In the records of his successors Gonka is said to have been a

subordinate of Kulottunga Chola, son of Rajaraja who pleased with his services in his wars, conferred on him the lordship over Shatsahasravani.<sup>43</sup> This must mean the recognition of Gonka I as the lord of Velanandu territories overlooking the claims of his two elder brothers to the ancestral possessions and confirmation of the same by the suzerain, Chola emperor and no fresh conferment is implied in the statement in the records. Gonka's records indicate the gradual expansion of the kingdom. His earliest record of A.D. 1076-77 and the 7th year of Vishnuvardhana maharaja is from Chebrole<sup>44</sup> in the home province. He is mentioned as a samasta senadhipath in it and probably A.D. 1077 was the first year of his accession to power. Vishnuvardhana is Kulottunga I. Gonka's next inscription is from Pedakallepalle<sup>45</sup> dated in the 13th year (A.D. 1083) of Vishnuvardhana. His record from Srikakulam is dated A.D. 1100-01 and the 7th year of Rajaraja and the one from Bapatla<sup>46</sup> bears the date A.D. 1106-7 and the 6th year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti. Another record of this date is from Appikatla. The Tripurantakam inscription of A.D. 1018<sup>47</sup> bearing no regional year mentions that Gonka was the chief supporter of the Chalukyan kingdom ruling over the thousand three hundred district and records his grant of Chetalapadu in *Kammanadu* on the banks of Gunderu (Gundlakamma). The location of the record implies the extension of the kingdom up to Tripurantakam (Kurnool district) and Gonka's grant of village on Gundlakamma speaks for his having subdued it by that date. The assumption of the title *Trisatottarasahasravaninatha* signifies Gonka's acquisition of fresh territories naturally in the direction of Gundlakamma in Kammanadu and Tripurantakam. By A.D. 1107 Gonka I was the lord of the Andhra country. His record from Amaravati is dated A.D. 1108-9 and the last record<sup>48</sup> is from Manugodu dated in the 37th year of Vishnuvardhana. Here Gonka definitely recognises Kulottunga's suzerainty and rules his enlarged kingdom as his subordinate. This is corroborated by the Pithapur pillar which says that Gonka I ruled *Andhramandali* under the orders of Kulottunga Choda.

### **Gonka's Political Relations :—**

In transforming the Velanandu chieftaincy into a kingdom comprising the entire Andhra mandale Gonka whose personal valour is well attested by records and literature, must also have depended on an excellent army manned by generals of great capacity. Among them were his son Prince Chola, nephew Vedure II, Gother Panda, Prouonayaka. the governor of Dharanikota<sup>49</sup> and numerous subordinate chiefs. Gonka, in this connection must have come into conflict with contemporary other rulers in south India.

### **Gonka I and the Eastern Chalukyas**

The occupants of the Chalukyas throne in this period were Vijayaditya VII (A.D. 1060-1076), his son Saktivarman II (A.D. 1060-1061). Vijayaditya's titles were Karavalabhairava, Kaliyudhishtara, Chalukya Bhima and Vishnuvardhana.<sup>50</sup> After Kulottunga's accession, Vijayaditya ruled Vengi as his viceroy.

Gonka's predecessors were loyal servants of the Chalukyas. Consequently Gonka's loyalty was to the Chalukyachola emperor and his viceroys in Vengi. He bore the epithet Chalukyarajya bhavanamulasthembha on which is based the statement "This shows that title Chalukya rajya bhavana mulasthambha assumed by Gonka I when he had become more or less independent of in the Telugu country meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom."<sup>51</sup> But there was no Chalukyan kingdom to speak of in A.D. 1106-7 the date of the record giving Gonka's title. So the epithet is only a happy reminiscence of the Velanandus with the Eastern Chalukyas in the past and perhaps Vengi continued to locally known as Chalukyarajya. The epithet formed part of the Velanandu prasasti.

### **Gonka and the Cholas :—**

The Chola emperor was Kulottunga (A.D. 1070-1118) who was prince Rajendra Chola prior to his assumption of royalty. The name Kulottunga itself is an asset to the greatness of Rajendra as an emperor. In records from the Telugu country he was popularly known as Vishnuvardhana and son of Rajaraja. On the death of Vijayaditya Kulottunga entrusted

Vengi to his sons.

Gonka's relationship to Kulottunga and his viceroys in Vengi was loyal subordination. His first and last records dated the 7th and 37th year of Vishnuvardhana attest this. As seen already Gonka was given the rulership of shatsahasra and Andhramandala by Kulottunga I.

Gonka with his armies followed the Cholas in their campaigns, Virachoda appears to have been one of the greatest of the Chola viceroys in Vengi and his term was the most eventful and resulted in bringing about victories over the western Chalukyas and their feudatories. The Pithapur pillar Inscription<sup>52</sup> says that Vengimandala prospered while Virachoda who resembled Indra and was a destroyer of enemies was ruling the kingdom. Vedula II, son of Ganda and nephew of Gonka I was a minister of Virachoda and assisted him with a troop of vassals in defeating in battle the Pandyan king. As reward for his services, Virachoda in the presence of assembled kings assigned him one half of his throne and the *desa—sindhu Yugmantara*—the doab country between the rivers Krishna and the Godavari.

Again during the viceroyalty of Vikrama Chola after A.D. 1093 during the first Kalingan campaign among the several vassal chiefs who joined the Chola side were prince choda, son of Gonka and Vedula II. In the course of the campaign Prince Choda, minister of Virachoda defeated Telugu Bhima, a vassal of the king of Kalinga and drove him to take refuge in Colair.<sup>53</sup> Probably as reward for these services Kulottunga adopted Choda as his son, conferred on him the emblems of his own sons and gave him the *Vengi mandala of 160000 villages*.

"The campaign (first Kalingan war) seems to have been undertaken for the suppression of local revolts rather than for the conquest of fresh territory. Southern Kalinga was apparently the territory between the Godavari and Mahendra mountain and this territory was already part of the Vengi province some years before the war of Vikrama Chola. Possibly the subordinate rulers whose territories were included in the viceroyalty of Vengi conspired together and rose in rebellion when the young prince Vikrama became viceroy.

The result was unsuccessful and the entire province was restored to subjection. Kulottunga's inscription at Srisailam s 1021 and several others at Draksharama and other places attest the successful restoration of authority."<sup>54</sup>

In bringing about the result, Velanandu Choda and Vedula besides Gonka assisted the Cholas and were rewarded in return with honours and territories.

### **Gonka and the Chalukyas of Kalyani**

The founder of the Kalyani kingdom was Taila II (973-997). His kingdom comprised the entire Karnata with capital at Manyakheta and he is spoken of as the lord of Trilinga.<sup>55</sup> His epithets were Meharajadhiraja, Paramaswara, Paramabhattacharaka, samasta bhuvanasraya, śrīmadahabamalladēva and bhujabalavīranarayana. His successor was Satyasraya Sattiga or Sattima (997-1008) who ruled Rettapadi. Among his titles were Akalanka-charita and Irivabedonga. His successor Vikramaditya V (1008-1013) completed the incorporation of Nolambavodi begun under Satyasraya. His titles were Tribhuvanamalla and Vallabhanarendradeva.<sup>56</sup> His successor was Ayyana II (A.D. 1014). Jayasimha II entitled Jagadekamalla succeeded him (A.D. 1018-1014). His son and suceedor was Somesvara I (A.D. 1044-1068) bearing the double biruda of Trailokyamalla-Ahavamalla. He made Kalyani his capital. His son and successor was Somesvara II entitled Bhuvanaikamalla (A.D. 1068-1076). He was deposed and was succeeded by his younger brother Vikramaditya VI. (A.D. 1076-1128). He styled himself Tribhuvanamalla and superceded the saka era by the Chalukya vikrama era the first year of which was the first year of his reign in A.D. 1076-1077.<sup>57</sup> He wanted to revive Chalukyan influence in Vengi and the Cholas were interested in continuing to hold and defend Vengi against him "Both (Vikramaditya and Virarajendra) were interested in Vengi affairs because with a friendly Vengi each could hope to terminate the border struggle on Tungabhadra in his own favour."<sup>58</sup>

Fighting on the side of the Cholas in defence of Vengi, Gonka and his subordinates came into conflict with

Vikramaditya VI and his feudatories. In Professor Sastri's words "since the accession of Kulottunga I to the Chola throne, Vikramaditya left no stone unturned to create trouble for Kulottunga in Vengi country. The feudatory princes of the land tended to divide themselves as a consequence into rival camps one party supporting Western Chalukya and the other Eastern Chalukya. For the best part of Kulottunga's reign Vikramaditya's effort to gain upper hand met only with indifferent success. The Velanandu chiefs of Tsandavole ranged themselves definitely on the side of the Chola power."<sup>59</sup>

It was during the second viceroyalty of Virachoda in Vengi that the clash between the Cholas and their feudatories and the Chalukyas and their feudatories took a serious turn. The Uchchangi pandyas of the Nolamba country (Bellary and Anantapur districts) were feudatories of Vikramaditya VI. They carried on hostilities with the Chalukya Cholas on behalf of Vikramaditya VI. In a record dated in c.v. cera 4 (A.D. 1080) the Nolamba Pandyas claim to have defeated Rajiga Chola.<sup>60</sup> This gives the clue for the attack of and defeat of the Pandyas in a battle by Vedula II and his armies and secure rewards from Virachoda. The Pandyas referred to are no doubt the Uchchangi Pandyas. Tribhuvanamalla Pandya of Uchchangi ruled Nolamba province from A.D. 1092 to 1108.<sup>61</sup> So in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the Pandya vanquished by Vedula may be identified with Tribhuvana. Thus, Gonka and his suzerains were victorious in dealings with the Chalukyas of Kalyani and their feudatories.

### **Gonka and the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga**

King Vajrahasta V, son of Kamarnava by Vinayamahendri of the Vaidumba family in Andhra desa ascended the throne in A.D. 1038. He assumed the title of Trikalingadhipati thus indicating some control over the ancient Kalinga-Utkala, Kongada and Kalinga.<sup>62</sup> His other titles were Parama mahesvara, Paramabhattaraka and maharajadhiraja. He was succeeded by Rajaraja I in A.D. 1068 or 1071. He married Rajasundari, daughter of Kulottunga I. His son and successor was Anantavarman Chodaganga in A.D. 1076 or 1078. He

styled himself Trikalīngadhipati and had a long a reign of 72 years up to 1148 A.D. His capital was Kalinganagare.<sup>63</sup>

Rajaraja I and Anantavarman roused the hostility of the Chodas and their subordinates, the Velanandu the Vengi, by evincing keen interest in the affairs of Venginadu after the death of Eastern Chalukya —Rajaraja I in A.D 1063. Anantavarman was for extending his sway into Vengi. The Chola viceroys, Gonka I and prince Choda not only defended Vengi against him but led a successful conquering expedition into Kalinga under Vikramachola's viceroyalty about A.D. 1093. During the expedition, Choda I claims to have defeated Telugu Bhima of Kolanu and captured him when he took shelter in the Colair lake. "This chief of Kolanu, modern Ellore near the Colair lake was evidently in league with the ruler of Kalinga and Vikrama chola had to fight on two fronts simultaneously. The inscriptions of Paranteka Pandya like those of Vikrama Chola state that Telugu Bhima of Kulam was captured and that southern Kalingam was subdued <sup>64</sup>" Thus Choda's victory over Bhima formed an important event in the Chola campaign of Kalinga and was claimed by the successors of the Choda I as their victory.

### Gonka's other Victories

During the Chola campaign of Kalinga, Gonka must have come into contact with the Kona Haihayas of the Godavari district who also were vassals of the Cholas. He would have met in the campaign Kota Bhima of Amravati who claims to have assisted the Chola in subduing the Kalinga country.<sup>65</sup> By no stretch of imagination this Bhima could be identified with Kolanu Bhima who was an enemy of the Cholas, was captured and killed by Choda I.<sup>66</sup> Pottapi Kama Deva of the Konidena branch of the Telugu Chodas was ruling at Tripurantakam about A.D. 1106.<sup>67</sup> In extending his kingdom Gonka would have come into conflict with them.

### CHODAS I. A.D. 1109—1136—37.

Son of Gonka by Sabbambika Choda I ascended the Velanandu Choda throne of Tsandavole in A.D. 1109<sup>68</sup> and

ruled for 28 years. From his records he is variously known as Kulottunga Rajendra Chodaraja, Velananti Choda, Velanandi Rajendra Choda, Rajendra Choda Deva, Rajendra Chola Gangiyaraya Cholan alias Rajendra Chola Gangayarajan, and king Chodī. Assisted in the governance of the country as crown prince and general under Gonka I Choda by the time of his accession gained experience in statesmanship. He was the ruler of Vengi 16000 conferred on him by Kulottunga I.<sup>69</sup> In the face of adverse circumstances Choda I extended and consolidated the kingdom to the utmost of his capacity. By A.D. 1120, his rule extended up to Draksharama and by 1130 up to Kalahasti in the Chittoor district. Choda I recognised chola suzerainty throughout his reign but for a short while when he had to acknowledge Western Chalukyas supremacy. He passed on a well extended and consolidated kingdom to his son and successor Gonka II.

#### Extent and Extension of the Kingdom

Choda I's inscriptions are greater in number and give more information than these of Gonka I. The extension of his kingdom is clear from the provenience of his records. His earliest record from Kuramanchi dated A.D. 1108-9 which was the last year of Gonka I. A record of his dated A.D. 1120 and C.V. 45 in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla is from Draksharama<sup>70</sup> is of singular importance indicating the extension of the kingdom thus far in the east as well as recognition by Choda I of the supremacy of Choda I. His record from Bapatla dated A.D. 1130<sup>71</sup> and C.V. 5-a mistake for 55 indicates the penetration of Vikramaditya into the heart of the Velanandu kingdom and the continuity of allegiance of Choda I to Vikramaditya. No doubt the Velanandu power at this stage was eclipsed by the domination of Vikramaditya VI. Three records of A.D. 1130 and the 12th year of Vikrama Chola come from Kalahasti.<sup>72</sup> These attest the extension of the kingdom in the southern direction and Choda's recognition of Chola supremacy in part of his kingdom even when he had to acknowledge Chalukyan yoke in his home province. In the records from Amritalur and Cubodu, dated A.D. 1132 do not give the

regnal year. The latest inscriptions of Choda are dated A.D. 1136 ; the one from Nidubrole dated in the 17th regnal year of Tribhuvanam Chakravarti Vikrama choda deva and the one from Bapatla in the 3rd year of Tribhuvanam chakravarti Kulottunga choda deva Kulothunga 11.

### **Choda's political relations**

As the last and the first records of Gonka I and Choda I respectively are dated A.D. 1118. There was no interval between the two reigns as has been supposed by some writers.<sup>73</sup> In his records as well as those of his successors, Choda is spoken of as a great warrior and destroyer of enemies. In extending the kingdom and defending it from enemies, Choda came into touch with contemporary powers-major and minor-records of his son Gonka are found all over the kingdom from A.D. 1128 issued in his own name. Probably Gonka shared the burden of the kingdom with his father Choda I from that year a measure intended to strengthen the kingdom. The feudatories in the kingdom must have helped Chodas in fighting his enemies.

### **Choda and the Eastern Chalukyas**

Choda bore the Velanandu prasasti identical with that of Gonka I. But the epithet Chalukya rajyabhavana mulasthambha has been omitted in it. A record of prince Gonka at Srisailam dated A.D. 1132 mentions it.<sup>74</sup> By Choda's time the title had lost its significance as the Chalukyan kingdom was a thing of the past after it came under the Cholas. This accounts for the absence of the title from Choda's prasasti.

### **Choda I and the Imperial Cholas**

The imperial Chola emperors in this period were Kulottunga up to 1120 A.D. Vikramachola from A.D. 1120 to 1135 and his son Kulottunga III from A.D. 1135 to 1150 A.D. To quote Professor Sastri "The (Chola) empire still retain at its greatest extent in his (Kulottunga I) forty fifth regnal year or thereabouts. . .the presence of Kulottunga's inscriptions in Nandalur (Cuddapah) called Kulottungasolachadurvedi mangalam and in Tripurantakam (Kurnool) as also in the Mysore country up to the 45th year proves that the rule of Kulottunga was successfully maintained in these quarters. The hold over Vengi was

quite firm and had rendered possible a successful invasion of the territory of its northern neighbour, Kalinga."<sup>75</sup>

Vikrama Chola, the Viceroy of Vengi (A.D. 1092-93-1118) left Vengi for the Chola country in A.D. 1118 when "the troubles that they had long been gathering against Kulottunga in the north came to a head."<sup>76</sup> The Pithapur pillar inscription of Mallapadeva dated A.D. 1202 makes the definite statement that when Vikramachola went to rule the country the land of Vengi at once fell into a state of anarchy."<sup>77</sup> Consequent on the Western Chalukyan encroachments and occupation of Vengi Kulottunga I towards the close of his reign lost the northern half of Vengi, if not the whole of it to Vikramaditya VI. Soon after Vikramaditya's death Vikramachola in A.D. 1126 re-established his supremacy in the southern half, if not whole of the Vengi country. This is evidenced by the prevalence of inscriptions of the period in Vengi. On the whole, Vikrama Chola's reign appears to have been one of peace and his efforts to recover the lost ground not with success in the north Vengi. It was to the credit of Vikramachola that he restored Chola supremacy in Vengi

The reign of Kulottunga II, son and successor of Vikrama Chola appears to have been one of peace, good government and prosperity.<sup>78</sup> The extent of the empire was maintained as it was at the close of Vikrama Chola's reign, and the Chellur plates show if anything that the restoration of Chola suzerainty in the north after its temporary eclipse by the spread of the Western Chalukya rule was complete and stable."<sup>79</sup> Kulottunga's inscriptions, therefore, are more numerous in the Telugu country than those of Vikramachola's reign.

Choda I, continued the loyalty of Gonka I to the Cholas. His records<sup>80</sup> prior to A.D. 1120 the record of which year<sup>81</sup> mentions Tribhuvanamalla do not refer to his Choda suzerain. But during the years from A.D. 1108 to 1120 his loyalty to Kulottunga I and his viceroy Vikrama Choda must have been sincere, as he was the adopted son of Kulottunga entrusted with the rulership of Vengi 16000 and Choda in Gonka's reign assisted the Cholas in their wars. So, it appears Choda was even more attached than Gonka to Kulottunga and perhaps this intimacy of relationship between Choda and Kulottunga

enabled the former to issue records in his own name without dating them in the regnal years, of Kulottunga as a sign of formal recognition of Chola overlordship. Thus there was the substance of suzerainty on the part of Kulottunga and subordination on the part of Choda I. Choda must have helped Vikrama during the second Chola invasion of Kalinga which took place about A.D. 1110. "According to inscription the Chola army crossed the Vengi territory, destroyed the elephant corps that was set by the enemy to oppose its march, spread fire across the enemy country of Kalingam, killed in the fight many powerful leaders of the Kalinga army whose heads rolled on the battlefield, pecked by kites and in the end subdued the seven Kalingas."<sup>82</sup> This march of Chola armies through Vengi speaks for Choda's loyalty to the Chola throne.

For a decade from A.D. 1120 in Vikrama Chola's reign Choda I had to recognise the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Kalyani as evidenced from the two records<sup>83</sup> dated in Chalukya Vikrama era from Draksharama and Baptla respectively. "Thus towards the close of Kulottunga's reign and in the early years of Vikrama Chola, these chiefs found themselves constrained, as has been seem already to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Chalukyas." Choda's inscription dated 1132 and the 17th year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Vikrama Chodadeva"<sup>84</sup> show that he and his kingdom accepted Chola suzerainty and enjoyed imperial protection once again. Thus, Choda I, though not at the beginning of his reign, towards the close of it definitely and formally recognised Chola supremacy by dating his record from the province in the regnal year of the emperor, probably as a counter measure for past submission to Tribhuvanamalla. This is a positive departure from forced subordination to willing allegiance on the part of Choda I.

Choda's first record after the accession of Kulottunga II to the Chola throne is from Baptla dated in the 3rd regnal year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Kulottunga chola deva<sup>85</sup> (A.D. 1136) This speaks for Choda's recognition of the new Chola emperor as his overlord.

*Choda I and the Western Chalukyas*: Choda's Western Chalukya contemporaries were Vikramaditya VI up to A.D.

1126 and his son and successor Somesvara III, (A.D. 1126-27-1138). From the date of his apointment, Vikramaditya VI ruled without a rival till his death after which he was succeeded by his son Somesvara III. Vikramaditya ever remembered his failure in the first war against Kulotunga and in A.D. 1084 he complained that the 'hostile Chola does not come to the battle field.' In fact Vikramaditya's plan was to take advantage of the proceedings against the kingdom of Vengi and its vassal states."<sup>86</sup> His efforts were not successful till the time of Vikrama Chola's viceroyalty. The wars against the Kolamu chief and Kalinga were perhaps at least in part, due to the intrigues of Vikramaditya."<sup>87</sup> And so perhaps the Second Kalingan war against north Kalinga

The slow but gradual Chalukya incursions into Telugu country go back to the time of Somesvara I (A.D. 1044-1068) entitled Trailokyamalla. This is evidenced by the titles borne by some of the feudatory families <sup>88</sup> One of the titles of the Janjanuri and Pandraju families was Trailokyamalla bhujabala bhima. The Cheraku family had the Birudar-Trailokyamalla. Valluru in Cuddapah district was known as Trailokyavallabhapuram said to have been built at the orders of Trailokyamalla. Some of the feudatory chiefs in Vengi bore the names Trailokyamalla and Tribemvanamalla. Besides, the Telugu Chodas of Cuddappah were subordinate to the Western Chalukyas.

The earliest of the Western Chalukya records in Vengi is dated in the 5th year of C.V. era at Draksharama.<sup>89</sup> Vikramaditya's ministers, generals, and subordinate rulers in Vengi issued grants dated in C.V. era. Two records are dated in the 33rd year and two were in the 34th year of C.V. era at Drakharama. But the majority of Chalukya records in Vengi are dated between the years 45 and 48 of the same era.

In A.D. 1098 and the 23rd year of C.V. era Vikramaditya's minister Diggarasa made a grant at Anumakonda. With the departure of Vikrama Chola from Vengi, efforts of Vikramaditya met with some success in Vengi. "That Vikramaditya's rule did extend in this period over practically the whole of the Telugu country becomes clear from the provenience of his

inscriptions.” Prola of the Kakatiyas owed allegiance to Vikramaditya as seen from his Anumakonda inscription dated in the 42nd year of C.V. era. From an epigraph in Guntur district, Vikramaditya appears to have been reigning there. Anantapala, a general of Vikramaditya and his nephew Govinda figure prominently in the political history of the Telugu country in this period. According to an inscription from Kommuru in Guntur district, Anantapala was ruling Vengi 14000.<sup>90</sup> Anantapala was holding positions of importance under Vikramaditya VI from A.D. 1100. He was known as Mahapradhana Banasa Veggade, Dandanayaka and Mahasamantadhipati. He ruled over Belvole 300, Puligere 300, Banavase 12,000, and the 7½ lakh country.<sup>91</sup> In A.D. 1120, Peddamakaderi, wife of Anantapala made gifts at Draksharama.<sup>92</sup> Dandanayaka Govindarasa, who was managing some taxes under Anantapala in A.D. 1192—3 was subsequently promoted to the offices of mahadandanayaka, mahasamantadhipati and mahapradhani in A.D. 1114-1115 and was governing Banabase 1200 in A.D. 1117-1118.<sup>93</sup> A Govindarasa bearing the titles varahalanchana, Kundurpuravaradhisvara, alampuramjangam figures as a donor in a record from Pudur near Gadval (Nizam’s dominions) dated in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla and the 12th year of C.V. era.<sup>94</sup> If he is identical with Govindarasa mentioned above, this record gives us details of his early career. Govindarasa has already been identified with Govindaraja of Abbar inscriptions and the nephew of Anantapala. By A.D. 1126-1127 Dandanayaka Govindarasa was ruling Kondapalli 300 district as seen from a record from Tripurantakam dated in C.V. era.51.<sup>95</sup> Two writers<sup>96</sup> were inclined to identify Kondapalli with Nelakindapalle in Warangal district and put forward the view that Govinda ruled there on the basis as Prola’s enemies were all in the vicinity of Warangal, Govinda also an enemy of Prola, must have ruled in the neighbourhood of Warangal with capital at Nelakandapalle. But this is far fetched. In A.D. 1118 Anantapalle was ruling Vengi 14000, and the record mentioning Govinda as the ruler of Kondapalle enumerates also his victories and Vengi-Govinda claims to have burnt Vengi. Bengipura, defeated a prince at Jananathapura

and conquered Gonka.<sup>97</sup> After all the successes, Govinda must have established himself at Kudapalle in Kistna district which commanded a position of importance from geographical and strategical point of view in Vengi throughout the middle ages in south Indian history. Quite often, Kondapalle was the headquarters of a district, as it was of 300 district at this time. So Kondapalle 300 of Govinda was Kondapalle and not Nelakondapalle. In another record from Tripurantakam dated C.V. 51 (A.D. 1126-1127). "Anantapala is said to have defeated the Chola army, pursued it as far as Kanchi, and plundered that celebrated city and thus assumed the title Cholakatakachurukara."<sup>98</sup>

The same victory is claimed by Echapa, a subordinate of Anantapala, who is said to have pursued the Chola forces from the Uppinakatte in Vengi to Kanchi and gained for himself the title Cholarajyanirmulana. Thus by A.D. 1127 "Vikramaditya's sway spread practically over the whole of the Telugu country"; and he "had the satisfaction, though belated of carrying to successful end of his policy of breaking the union of Vengi and the Chola thrones."<sup>99</sup>

Vikramaditya's successor Somesvara III (A.D. 1128-1137) had the epithets Bhulokamalla and Sarvajnachakravartin. According to Dr. Fleet "his reign seems in fact to have been a tranquil one."<sup>100</sup> He maintained for sometime the position he inherited from his father in Vengi which is clear from records dated in C.V. era going up to the year 58 and some dated in the regnal years of Bhulokamalla at Draksharama and other places. of the Haihayas of Palnad recognised Bhulokamalla's suzerainty in an inscription dated A.D. 1129 coming from Gurizale<sup>101</sup> (Palnad taluq). Kallayasahdri he was in the service of Lakshmanadandanayaka, a Western Chalukya general in Vengi is heard of from a record at Draksharama bearing the date A.D. 1132. From another record<sup>102</sup> at Draksharama bearing the date A.D. 1133 and 58th year of C.V. era three Western Chalukya generals Govindaraja, son of Adimayyanayaka, Lakshmanadandanayaka, son of Makamavva and Lakshmana's premier Mahapradhani Siddhimayyanayaka are known. Of these Adimayya is probably identical with Adityadandanayaka.

son of Brammadevanayaka of the time of Tribhuvanamalla. Vikramaditya VI and figuring in a record from Draksharama with date A.D. 1122 and C.V. 45.<sup>103</sup> Similarly Makamavva is perhaps Makamba or Makasani, mother of Kamavva and figures in two inscriptions of Tribhuvanamalla with dates 1120, (C.V. 46) and 1127 respectively. Lakshmanaraja is described as "the glorious dandadhipa ruling, the splendid land of Vengi and capable of bearing the entire weight of the world."<sup>104</sup> In another record from Draksharama dated A.D. 1133 and C.V. 53 Siddhiraja dandanayaka and his son mahapradhani Kachimayyadandanayaka are mentioned. After C.V. 58 and A.D. 1133 "inscriptions dated in the C.V. era are not so common and galaxy of Bhulokamalla and his dandanayakas also seem [to make their exit]."<sup>105</sup> By the end of the reign of Somesvara the sway of the Western Chalukyas, having suffered a severe defeat in Chola hands ended.

Choda I was an enemy in the beginning, a subordinate later on and a foe in the end, of the Western Chalukyas. By A.D. 1120 Choda I acknowledged Vikramaditya's supremacy at Draksharama is in eastern dominion by dating his inscriptions in the 45th year of C.V. Era.<sup>106</sup> In this record is found the regular Chalukyan prasastis samastabhuvanasvaya, sriprithvi vallabhava, maharajadhirajaparamesvara, parama bhattaraka, satyasrayakulatilaka, chalukyabharana Tribhuvanamalladeva. This forms the initial stage in the Western Chalukyan occupation of Velanandu territories and Chola suzerainty was eclipsed temporarily. Records of Kulottunga are found in a continuous series at Draksharama up to 49th year (A.D. 1118-1199) and not afterwards.<sup>107</sup> The efficient Chalukyan armies in Vengi were probably manned by distinguished generals Anantapala, Govinda, Lakshmana, Siddhimayya, Kechimayya, Govindaraja and others. By A.D. 1126 the sway of the Chalukyas penetrated into the heart of the Velanandu kingdom. The Tripurantakam epigraph<sup>108</sup> proclaiming Govinda, a nephew of Anantapala ruling over Kondapalli 300, perhaps marks their highest achievement. Choda I and his armies must have fought hard against the powerful enemy at every stage and

could not avert the inevitable. Even his submission to the invader as early as 1120 A.D. at Draksharama<sup>109</sup> could not save the rest of kingdom from the ravages of the enemy. The stages of the expedition into the Velanandu kingdom were briefly indicated in the Tripurantanam inscription mentioning that Govinda burnt Vengi, defeated a prince at Jamunathapura and vanquished Gonks. Vengi is identical with Vengi near Ellore. Jamunathapura is identical with Bezawada. The place where Gonka, no doubt crown prince Gonka was defeated by Govinda is not known. But this defeat proved fatal to the Velanandu power and precipitated the establishment of the Western Chalukya occupation of the Kondapalle 300 district. Govinda's hold over the district seems to have continued for a few years in the reign of Sompsvara III Chod's record from Bapatla with  $\text{ś}$  1052 is dated in the 55th year of C.V. era which happens to be the 3rd regnal year of Bhulokamalla<sup>110</sup> (A.D. 1130). This record is the best indication of Velanandu subordination to the Western Chalukyas.

Thus in the middle of his reign, Choda I had to admit the yoke of Vikramaditya with whose death, came the opportunity to him and his Chola overlords to make efforts to shake off the Eastern Chalukya yoke on the part of the former and regain Vengi on the part of the latter. This is noticeable from the fact that Vikrama Chola's inscriptions in Northern Circars are dated not earlier than his 9th year (A.D. 1127) "and even then they form a very limited number and are confined to the southern parts of the Vengi kingdom in the modern Guntur district."<sup>111</sup> By A.D. 1132 Choda acknowledges Chola overlordship by recording Midubrolu inscription in the 17th regnal year of Vikrama Chola. This restoration of Chola suzerainty must have been gradual. Professor Sastri sums it up thus "The steps by which the restoration of Chola supremacy in the north was effected are obscure, but the death of Vikramaditya VI, the effort put forth by Vikrama Chola and the readiness of the Telugu chieftains to prefer the overlordship contributed in varying degrees to the restoration."<sup>112</sup>

But records<sup>113</sup> do show signs of prevalence of the Western Chalukya power in Palnodi and Draksharama about the same

period A.D. 1133 and 1134 and the 58th year of C.V. era. But these were the last vestiges of the Western Chalukyan rule in Vengi which was definitely on the downward trend. By shaking off allegiance to the Western Chalukyas, Choda proved worthy of having been the adopted son of Kulottunga I. It was left to Gonka II who suffered a defeat in the hands of Govinda about A.D. 1126, to retrieve the honour of the Velanandu Chodas by inflicting a crushing defeat on Somesvara's generals and bring about their exit from Vongi, soon after his accession to the throne.

### Choda and the Eastern Ganges

Choda's contemporary ruler on the Gangathrone was Anantavarman Choda Ganga entitled Trikalingadhipati (A.D. 1078-1148). He had a long reign of seventy or seventy two years. The Kornī and Vizagapatam C.V. grants<sup>114</sup> of Anantarvarma dated A.D. 1112 and 1118 state that he "first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in the eastern region and then the vaning lord of Vengi in the Western region and propped up their failing fortunes."<sup>115</sup> Perhaps this refers to events in the Second Kalingam war in the northern Kalinga by the Cholas under Vikrama Chola and Choda I and other feudatories of the Cholas in Vengi about A.D. 1110. If so, the inscriptions undoubtedly show Anantavarma's interference into the affairs of Utkala and Vengi but they do not imply that the lords of Utkala and Vengi must have formed friendly subordinate alliances with him,<sup>116</sup> because the Second Kalingam war was a victory for the Cholas. Later events show that probably like Vikramaditya VI, Anantavarman also took advantage of the comparatively weak political situation of Vengi after Vikrama Chola left his viceroyalty in A.D. 1117 and Kulottunga's death in A.D. 1120. By A.D. 1135, the date of the Srikurmam, epigraph,<sup>117</sup> Anantavarma claims to have conquered and annexed the territory to the north of the Godavari. But earlier still, in A.D. 1128 his campaigns in this direction must have ended, for in that year, he and his queens, visited Draksharama and made gifts to Bhīmesvara. It has been suggested<sup>118</sup> that after

the death of Vikramaditya VI, Anantavarman probably took the country up to the Godavari constituting Southern Kalinga comprising Vizagapatam and East Godavari districts. Just as it is probable that Vikramaditya influenced the Kalingan wars and the consequent rebellion against the Chodas and their feudatories, it is also likely that he encouraged Kalingan expansion into Vengi. Even after Vikramaditya's death, Anantavarman would have continued his efforts in the direction and if at all held ephemeral sway over the tract from A.D. 1128 to 1135 or till the end of Choda's reign when all signs of foreign domination were put to an end by all powerful Gonka II.

Choda came into conflict with Anantavarman in self defence as well as fighting on behalf of the Cholas. As prince Choda, in Gonka's reign, Choda distinguished himself in the first Kalingan war. As king Choda, he participated in the second Kalingan war (A.D. 1110). By A.D. 1112 probably he had to meet with some Kalingan opposition in his dominions. For Anantavarman in that year claims to have restored the failing fortunes of the waning lord of Vengi in the western region. This lord of Vengi is probably some local chief—probably an Eastern Chalukya of the Vengi or Nidadevole branch—included in Southern Kalinga who perhaps suffered badly in the 2nd Kalingan war, thus necessitating restoration by the Ganga emperor.

We may note here that the opinion<sup>119</sup> that Kulottunga I, Choda I besides a Kona chief led campaigns into Kalinga as far as Cuttack before A.D. 1118 was based on wrong data namely that Kulottunga had the title—Gangakaveri paryantadharitripati in A.D. 1116. Volanati Choda conquered Kalingagangakatakam and that Kona Potaraja, a vassal of Rajendra Choda conquered Trikalingadhinatha, Kulottunga I had the title—Gangakaveri paryantadharitripati at a much earlier date i.e. A.D. 1100.<sup>120</sup> Secondly, Choda, who conquered Kalingagangakatakam is not Velanandichoda but a Kondapadumathi ruler bearing the name Manda.<sup>121</sup> Kona Potaraja's victory<sup>122</sup> must have happened during the first or second Kalingan wars of the Cholas; and so

probably that of Kondapedumati Manda. So all these do not mean a fresh expedition into Kalinga by the Cholas or their sub-ordinates including Choda I.

After A.D. 1118 Choda I had to face Anantavarman about A.D. 1128 at Draksharama. By that date and afterwards Choda I and his lord Vikrama Chola were slowly regaining their hold in the tracts north of the Godavari. So perhaps, Anantavarman's visit to Draksharama marks the beginning as well as the end of his occupation of Vengi. In the light of the fact that by A.D. 1135 Choda I and his overlord effectively checked the Western Chalukya power in Vengi. Anantavarman's claim to have conquered the three quarters<sup>123</sup> appears to be some what an exaggeration for if at all, he might have exercised superficial sway over Vengi for a while, but could never have effected a virtual conquest and annexed it to his empire as has been imagined.<sup>124</sup> After A.D. 1135 Choda I was a formidable enemy of Anantavarman and not a sub-ordinate.

### Choda and the Telugu Chodas

The Telugu Chodas in this period were ruling in Nellore and Chittoor districts. Kamadeva, Chodadeva Maharaja and Ballayachoda, all of the Konidena branch, Batta, M.P.C. Vimaladitya. Kannaradeva alias Rajendra Chola Pottappichcholan of the Pottapi branch were contemporaries of Choda I. Besides there were other Telugu Chola dynasties owing allegiance to the Western Chalukyas and their feudatories.

The Konidena and Pottapi Cholas owed allegiance to the Imperial Cholas like the Velanandu Chodas. But this common bond of the Velanandu and Telugu Cholas did not stand in the way of their mutual hostilities. Under Choda I, the Velanandus came into open conflict with the Telugu Cholas. Choda had the title. Chaulikachakravartikatakaprakaranamankitah in his Chebrole inscription<sup>125</sup> dated A.D. 1115. It means "one whose name was engraved on the walls of the Chola king." As Choda was a loyal sub-ordinate of the Cholas, his title must have been based on some achievement of his over the Telugu Chodas. Probably he conquered Pottapi Kamadeva who, was ruling about

Kurnool in this period. The title recurs in the records of Choda and Gonka in the same form or as Chaulikakshitipati prakaranamankitah.<sup>126</sup>

Choda's sway extended as far as Kalahasti as attested by his records and those of Gonka and minister—all dated in the 12th regnal year of Vikrama Chola.<sup>127</sup> Kannaradeva alias Rajendrachola Pottapi Chola was ruling about Kalahasti in this period. No doubt Choda must have fought him prior to his occupation of the tract. By A.D. 1132 Choda had further victories over the Telugu Chodas. For in a record of A.D. 1132, from Tubadu Kapana, a subordinate of Choda, claims to have defeated a Siddhibeta as seen from the epithet—Siddhibeta vidravana.<sup>128</sup> Beta has been identical with Betabhupala<sup>129</sup> who was the son of Dayabhima I and younger brother of Siddhi. As Battarasa ruled Pottapinadu in A.D. 1121 and seems to have been succeeded by Vimaladitya, son of Siddharasa, Choda's victory must have occurred by A.D. 1121. Still, it remains to be known why Beta was called Siddhibeta, which generally means Beta, son of Siddhi. The fight of Kapana with Siddhi Beta must have formed part of the Velanandu expedition and expansion into the Telugu Chola territory after A.D. 1115 and before A.D. 1130. The data of his Kalahasti records. Thus, Choda in his westward and southward expansion had to struggle with the Telugu Cholas, who were his immediate neighbours on both fronts.

### Choda and other kings

Nambiraja of the Parichchadis, a subordinate of Vikramachola and ruling in a portion of the country to the south of the Krishna probably owed allegiance to Choda I. The Ayya family ruling at Kroyyuru in Velanandu country were servile to Choda I. Of the brothers Jilla, Narayana and Suraya, sons of Bhima I by Rachyambika Jilla vanquished Kannaradeva and was rewarded with dignity of generalship along with a palanquin, umbrella and other emblems and his brother Narayana with lordship over the island and the Gontu villages.<sup>130</sup> Kannaradeva was the Telugu Choda, victory over

whom made Choda I the ruler of the Kalahasti tract. Jilla's victory must have occurred during the Velanandu penetration into the Telugu Chola territory by A.D. 1130. Thus Kapa's fight with Siddhibeta and Jilla's conflict with Kannaradeva were important steps in the war between the two powers.

A Vishnu vardhan, probably of the Pithapur branch of the Chalukyas was ruling about Rajahmundry from A.D. 1123.<sup>131</sup> He probably was a subordinate of Choda I and Choda must have passed through his territories while going to Draksharama and into Southern Kalinga.

Manda or Manmamanda or Erramanda of the Kondapedumatis was a contemporary of Choda I. He was a vassal of Kulottunga Chola. Manda, the grand father of Choderaja was a subordinate of Rajendrachola. The suggestion that Kulottunga and Rajendra refer to Choda I and Gonka II of the Velanandu Chodas, and not to the Chola emperors.<sup>132</sup> is baseless and consequently the statement that "Manda or Erramanda was a military officer under Velananti Rajendra Choda who on behalf of his master appears to have fought a battle with the Gangas of Kalinga."<sup>133</sup> is wrong.

A Ganapati maharaja, probably a subordinate of Choda, must have distinguished himself in the wars of the period. He figures in a record of 1128 A.D.<sup>134</sup> and is different from Kakatiya Ganapati and another Ganapati figuring in a record of 1161 A.D.<sup>135</sup>

Probably due to his many victories, by A.D. 1136 Choda assumed the imperialistic title. Sarvorvisvara chakravartikataka prakaranamankitah<sup>136</sup> and bhubhrinmaulika chakravartikatakaprakaranamankitah which is a modification of the title—Chaulikachakravartikataka prakara namankita with sarvorvisvara and bhubhrinmaulika substituted for Chaulika.

## GONKA II. A.D. 1137—1161-62

Gonka II was the greatest of the Velanandu Chodas. He was a warrior of the first rank and consequently his political achievements were remarkable. Marching from success to success Gonka extended the kingdom on all its bounds and it

attained its largest extent under his beneficent rule. Gonka is said to have ruled over the country from Setu to R. Narmada<sup>137</sup> and from Kalahasti to Mahendragiri. And certainly, as attested by his inscriptions and those of his successors, Gonka's extended kingdom touched Mahendragiri<sup>138</sup> on the north east, the ocean on the east, Srisaïlam on the west and Nellore and Kalahasti on the south. Gonka's continued royalty to the Imperial Cholas, the events of the antecedent two reigns, his training as general and administrator under his father from A.D. 1128 contributed not less than his inherent capacities and political wisdom to the glory of the reign. Gonka vanquished all his enemies within and without the kingdom including the great Chalukyas of Kalyani. He associated his son Choda II in the governance of the kingdom from A.D. 1130 onwards and was succeeded by him in A.D. 1161-62.<sup>139</sup> Gonka left to his successor a strong, extended and consolidated kingdom. His reign lasted for a period of twenty-four to twenty-five years.

*Growth and Extend of the Kingdom :—*Of all the Velanandu rulers, Gonka II issued the greatest number of inscriptions which range from A.D. 1128 to 1161-62. Even while still an associate ruler with Choda I, Gonka assumed regal titles and his Prasasti included the epithets-Vengivishyashhodasa sahasravanivallabha and Trisatottara shatasravaninatha.<sup>140</sup> The extent of the Velanandu kingdom at the accession of Gonka in A.D. 1137 is attested by the provenance of inscriptions at Guntur, Nadendla, and Draksharama. In A.D. 1137 Gonka appears to have been a friend of Karnatas<sup>141</sup> and by A.D. 1140, his minister Kantana had victories over Siddhibeta of the Telugu Cholas and Lakshmana and Govinda of the Chalukyas<sup>142</sup> But these successes do not seem to have resulted in adding fresh territories to the kingdom. In A.D. 1143 Gonka is said to have vanquished the Gauda, the hata and Kataka.<sup>143</sup> He was on friendly terms with the Telugu Cholas and Haihayas in A.D. 1147 and claims to have conquered the kings of Lata, Marata and Kuntala and plundered their wealth.<sup>144</sup> From the location of Gonka's inscription at Kalahasti<sup>145</sup> dated A.D. 1145 and from the Draksharama epigraph<sup>146</sup> (A.D. 1150) which mentions Gonka's victory over the Chalukyas on the

Godavari and that the kings between Srisailam and Mahendragiri were all subordinate to him, it is evident that the Velanandu kingdom reached its widest limits by A.D. 1150. Gonka's victories over the Kalingan armies and his rule over the country between the Setu and Narmada with the help of his sword in A.D. 1156 are mentioned in a record from Draksharama.<sup>147</sup> Towards the close of his reign, Gonka was on friendly relation with the Chagi rulers.<sup>148</sup> His placing of golden pinnacles on the temples of Srisailam and Purushothama, which probably took place after his successes in Karnata, Andhra, Kalinga and Kuntala,<sup>149</sup> must have happened by A.D. 1156 if not 1150 A.D. The Pithapur pillar epigraph says that the kings between the mountains of Kalahasti and Mahendrachola were all servants of Gonka.

### Gonka's political relations

Gonka was previously known as Velanandi Gonka, Velananti Gonkaraja, Kulottunga choda Gangeya Gonkaraja, Kulottunga Chodagonka, Velananti Kulottunga Choda Gonkaraja, Gonka, Gokana, Velananti Kulottunga Choda Gonka, Gonkaiyan, Kulottunga sola gonka rajon, Kulottunga choda gangeyaraja, Kulottunga rajendra choda gonka, and Kulottunga choda gangeya raya Velananti gonka. Gonka in his political career came into conflict with the major powers in south India and defeated them and imposed his yoke on smaller powers. In this he was resisted by excellent armies manned by brilliant generals including prince Choda II, several feudatory chiefs and their armies.

### Gonka and the Eastern Chalukyas

Gonka II had the biruda-chalukyarajyabhavanamulas-thambha<sup>150</sup> in his Prasasti which is only a reminiscence of the past subordination of his predecessors to the Vengi Chalukyas. But it does not mean Gonka's subordination to the Chalukyas of Vengi.

### Gonka and the Imperial Cholas

Emperor Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1150) had a peaceful and prosperous reign. His latest regnal year is the sixteenth or the seventeenth (A.D. 1150). "Some four years before this date, he associated his son Rajaraja II in the actual conduct of the administration and in the inscriptions of Parakesari. Rajaraja, his regnal years are counted from some date after the 6th April in A.D. 1146. Of the reign of Rajaraja II, many inscriptions have been preserved which contain a number of prasastis which attest the extent of his kingdom and disclose the names and positions of a number of feudatories. Judging from the silence of these inscriptions on the military transactions of the reign, one may infer that, like the reign of Kulottunga II, that of Rajaraja II was generally peaceful.<sup>151</sup>

"The extent of the empire under Rajaraja's rule is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions. In the Telugu country Rajaraja's suzerainty is clearly attested by a fair number of stone inscriptions found through out the Vengi country up to Draksharama, though it is clear that the feudatory chiefs of Velanandu were becoming more and more independent and over bearing. As a matter of fact from the close of the reign of Kulottunga I when as we have seen great disaster befell the Chola empire and its extent became greatly circumscribed by the successor of the Hoysalas and the Western Chalukyas, the most remarkable phenomenon within the empire was the steady growth in the power and influence of local dynasties. The hold of the central administration over the outlying parts of the empire had always been less firm than in the districts nearer the capital but by the end of Rajaraja's rule the administrative system was betraying signs of weakness even at its centre. The monarchy is no longer the vigorous autocracy that it was, ever active in the pursuit of war and glory, in the maintenance of order and the promotion of costly and essential enterprises of public utility. The inscriptions give clear indications of the increasing helplessness of the king in the face of the growing turbulence of his vassals who while acknowledging the nominal suzerainty of their lord play a more prominent part than the suzerain or his government in

the conduct of the affairs of the area under their control. The strength of the centralised beaucrocratic administration so laboriously planned and built up by Rajaraja I and his successors was gone."<sup>152</sup>

Gonka was loyal subordinate of Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II. He began his independent rule by first paying homage to emperor Kulottunga. Gonka's loyalty to the Chola throne is evidenced by his numerous inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the Chola emperors, ranging from the 17th year of Vikramachola<sup>153</sup> to the 17th year of Rajaraja II.<sup>154</sup> Barring the Nidubrole<sup>155</sup> inscription which falls in the reign of Choda I the earliest inscription of the reign dated in Chola regnal years is from Draksharama dated in the 5th year of Chodi chakravartin<sup>155</sup> and AD. 1137 – the first year of Gonka's independent rule. Here Chodi chakravartin is Kulottunga II. The continuity of the acknowledgement of Chola suzerainty on the part of Gonka is attested by the [Velanandu inscriptions at Draksharama in A.D. 1159 all dated in the 7th year of Kulottunga Choda.<sup>156</sup> Two records of Draksharama<sup>157</sup> of A.D. 1161 also are dated in the 9th year of the emperor Kulottunga choda deva. From A.D. 1163 onwards, Gonka's inscriptions from the home province are dated in Chola regnal years. An inscription from Bapatla is dated in the 11th year of Kulottunga Chola<sup>158</sup> Gonka's record, thereof AD. 1164 and the 12th year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Kulottunga choda deva gives the location of Bapatla as Prempalli situated in Kammanandu, a sub-division of *Uttama Choda Velanandu*.<sup>159</sup> This specification of the location of Bapatla is a proof of the continuance of the Chola influence in the Velanandu kingdom. Gonka's only record from Kalahasti, the southern boundary of the kingdom is dated in the 13th year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Kulottunga choda deva.<sup>160</sup> Dated in the 15th year of Kulottunga, two of Gonka's records are from Bapatla and Konidena.<sup>161</sup> Gonka's inscription from Draksharama dated 1168 and in the reign of Vishnuvardhanamaharaja<sup>162</sup> corresponding to the 16th year of Kulottunga II. This series of Gonka's inscriptions found in different parts of the kingdom including Kalahasti and Draksharama, and dated in

Kulottunga's regnal years throughout the latter's reign and some in Tamil area sufficient to show his loyalty to the emperor. Besides, the fact that Ghantasala was called Chola vandya pura in A.D. 1139 after the title of the Chola princes appointed to rule over the Pandya country<sup>163</sup> as viceroys indicates the permanent results of the restoration of the Chola power in Velanandu kingdom after the Chola and Velanandu victories over the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

Gonka's loyalty to Rajaraja II is clear from his records from A.D. 1149 onwards. His record from Bapatla is dated in the 4th regnal year of Rajaraja II.<sup>164</sup> Two inscriptions also at Bapatla, bear the date A.D. 1151 and the 6th year of Tribhuvana<sup>165</sup> chakravartin Rajarajadeva<sup>166</sup> Gonka's inscription of A.D. 1152 is also defeated in Rajaraja's reign corresponding to his 7th year.<sup>167</sup> His records<sup>168</sup> at Bapatla dated in A.D. 1154 and the 9th year of Rajaraja, and A.D. 1155 which corresponds to the 10th year of the emperor are found. The Srikakulam inscription bears the date A.D. 1155 and the 5th year of Rajaraja is a mistake for the 10th year of the emperor Rajaraja. Another of Gonka's records from Bapatla is dated in the 11th year of Rajaraja and A.D. 1156.<sup>169</sup> Gonka's last inscription<sup>170</sup> is at Zonnatali in which "the (1)7th regnal year of a certain king (is) fairly visible in the 3rd line." The king here is the Chalukya Chola emperor Rajaraja II whose 17th year corresponds to A.D. 1162.

Gonka calls himself a subordinate of sarvalokasraya rajendra choda maharaja.<sup>171</sup> This Rajendra Choda is either Kulottunga II or Rajaraja II mentioned with his Chalukyan epithets. A Vishnuvardhana maharaja who is identical with Kulottunga II or Rajaraja II figures as the suzerain of Gonka II from an undated record at Draksharama.<sup>172</sup> Following the example of his predecessors Gonka supported the Chola emperors in their wars. He rendered substantial service to Kulottunga in fighting the Western Chalukyas. The reoccurrence of the verse<sup>173</sup> recording Gonka's victory over the Chalukyas in a record dated s 1072<sup>174</sup> (A.D. 1150) "with the expression chodasina substituted for bahasiona a change calculated to confirm the view that this verse records an important victory for the Cholas and their

friends against the Western Chalukyas some time about A.D. 1133, Gonka II therefore must be taken to have played a prominent part in reversing the tide of Western Chalukyas' success in Vengi which began towards the close of the reign of Kulottunga I.<sup>175</sup>

### Gonka and the Western Chalukyas

Gonka's contemporary rulers at Kalyani were Somesvara III, Permajagade kamalla II and Taila III. Somesvara's rule lasted till A.D. 1138-39 the 13th year of his reign.<sup>176</sup> So Jagadakamalla's succession took place either at the end of A.D. 1138 or beginning of A.D. 1139 and his reign lasted up to A.D. 1149—the 12th year of his reign. He bore the title Pratapachakravartin. In his reign the Hoysalas proved aggressive and were repulsed by the Sindas, the subordinates of the Western Chalukyas.<sup>177</sup> Some of the feudatories of Jagadakamalla were Dandanayaka Sovideva governing Panugal 500 (A.D. 1148-1149) mahamarvdalesvara Virapandya ruling Nolembavadi 32000 (A.D. 1148-49) and Vijaya Pandya holding Nolambavadi 32000 under Bijjala. King Nurmadi Taila had the birudas—Trailokya malla and Chalukya chakravartin. He ascended the throne in A.D. 1150 and the latest date for him was A.D. 1161 when he was ruling from Jayantipura.<sup>178</sup> Some time during his reign, the Chalukyan power received a blow from Prola of the Kakatiyas. In A.D. 1162 Kalchuri Bijjala, the commander-in-chief and the most powerful man in the kingdom usurped the throne. So, Taila's reign ended in A.D. 1162 and he was dead by A.D. 1163—the date of the Ammakonda inscription of Rudradeva which refers to Taila's death.

None of Gonka's inscriptions are dated in the C.V. era or the regnal years of the Chalukyas. On the other hand, soon after his accession Gonka with the prop of his Chola overlords won a decisive victory over the Chalukyas, [thus retrieving the honour of the Velanandu Chodas who had suffered a defeat in Chalukyan hands in the previous reign and this victory put an end to all signs of Chalukyan yoke in Vengi. Gonka's Nadendla inscription dated A.D. 1137<sup>179</sup> mentions his fight

with the vast armies of the Gaudas and the Kuntalas and victory over the latter. The Kuntalas are the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the record does not mention the locality where the engagement between Gonka and the Chalukyan armies took place, nor does it give any details about the battle and the personnel of the Chalukyan armies. But the date shows that Gonka's victory was achieved within the first year of his accession or even during the last year of Choda's reign. In 1140 Gonka is said to have vanquished Lakshmana and Govinda and styled himself as the conqueror of the world.<sup>180</sup> Gonka in this battle is compared to Vajra (i.e. vajrayudha) and Lakshmana and Govinda to the best among mountains.<sup>181</sup> Lakshmana and Govinda are identical with the famous Chalukyan generals Lakshmana dandanayaka and Govinda dandarasa and from the record mentioning this it is evident that it was considered an important victory for the Velanandus. Naturally by A.D. 1140 the Cholas and Gonka were supreme in Vengi. In a record of A.D. 1142 from Draksharama,<sup>182</sup> Gonka claims to have defeated with the sword in his hand the lord of Kuntala who must be identified with Somesvara III. This victory also finds mention in another undated inscription<sup>183</sup> also from Draksharama, where in Somesvara is mentioned as Kuntalapati. All these details furnished by the above records of the battle between Gonka and the Chalukyas are described briefly in a single verse in two inscriptions<sup>184</sup> from Draksharama one dated 1150 and the other undated: which also give additional details of the battle regarding the locality where it took place, the presence of Somesvara on the battlefield and that the victory caused surprise to Gonka's lord, the son of Vikrama Choda i.e. Kulottunga II. The verse is rendered by Professor Sastri thus "Having in the battle of the Godavari and in the presence of the Kuntalavallabha put to flight his army with the sword (in his hand) shining like the glances of the goddess of heroism and having conquered Govinda davadhipa along with Lakshmana dandanatha, he attained the highest splendour of heroism besides (capturing) quantities of gold, horses (Khotaka = ghotaka) and camels.

Here Gonka is said in clear terms to have fought a battle on the banks of the Godavari put to flight the army of the

king of Kuntala and to have defeated two of his commanders Lakshmanadandanatha and Govinda and camels.<sup>185</sup> "As pointed out in another context the reoccurrence of the verse with the expression chodasina substituted for bahasina and the fact that the victory pleased Kulottunga II confirm the view that this verse records an important victory for the Cholas and their friends against the Chalukyas. In the light of this decisive victory of the Cholas and the Velanandus over the Chalukyas, it has to be admitted as pointed out by Professor Sastri that the reign of Somesvara III was not so tranquil as it was supposed by Dr. Fleet<sup>186</sup> Gonka's achievement is also mentioned in an inscription from Draksharama dated A.D. 1147.<sup>187</sup> The references in the inscriptions of other dynasties—as for instance Bantaraju of the Malayas calling himself a restorer of the Chalukyas in A.D. 1145, probably refer to the Chalukyan sway in Vengi in the reign of Choda I, than mean a restoration by A.D. 1143. The restoration of the Velanandu sway was complete by A.D. 1147 which means a fresh victory for the Velanandus over the Chalukyas.

For the rest of Gonka's reign we do not hear of any hostilities between him and the Chalukyan emperors—Jagadekamalle II and Taila III. The Victories of general Gonka a relative of Gonka II over the Kanneta army at Krochcheruvu do not either belong to Gonka's reign or refer to the Chalukyas of Kalyani and consequently the statement to that effect is of no value.<sup>188</sup>

*Gonka II and Kalinga* :— Anantavarman Choda Ganga, Kamarnava and Raghava were the Eastern Ganga contemporaries of Gonka. As Anantavarman's reign lasted upto A.D. 1148, his son Kamarnaya must have succeeded to the throne in that year, though his appointment took place in A.D. 1142. Kamarnava was also known as Anantavarman and Anantavarman Madhu Kamarnava and also as Jatesvaradeva. He ruled for ten years till A.D. 1158. But as his latest known date is A.D. 1155 which in the 10th year of the king "Kamannava died very probably in saka year 1078—A.D. 1156 and was succeeded by his step brother Raghava."<sup>189</sup> He ruled for a period of fifteen years.

Gonka II came into conflict with the Gangas in extending the bounds of his kingdom into Kalinga. Gonka seems to have advanced as far as Cuttack in A.D. 1137 and inflicted a defeat on Anantavarman for his inscription of that year<sup>190</sup> mentions his victories over Kataka and that his uncle Panda was praised in the Courts of all kings but omits Cuttack. As attested by his inscriptions, Gonka's expeditions into Kalinga continued. Gonka claims to have won victories over the lord of Kataka i.e. Anantavarman by A.D. 1143—the date of the Nadendla inscription.<sup>191</sup> He is said to have vanquished the lord of Kalinga and kept golden vessels on the temples of Sri Sailam and Puri.<sup>192</sup> From the Draksharama inscriptions<sup>193</sup> dated 1150 A.D. and 1154, it is clear that as a result of his successes into Kalinga, Gonka claims to have ruled over the country between the Setu and the Narmada, and that the kings between Srisailam and Mahendragiri were all subordinate to him.

Thus from these references ranging from A.D. 1143 to 1154, it is evident that Gonka defeated Anantavarman and his feudatories in some decisive battle in Kalinga after A.D. 1132 and before A.D. 1143, though no details about the locality, date and events of the battle are available. But the results of the Velanandu victory are obvious from Gonka's installation of golden pots on the temple of Puri and the statement that the kings between Srisailam and Mahendragiri and Kalahasti and Mahendrachala paid obeisance to him. Thus Gonka's victories into Kalinga extended as far as Mahendragiri, and this position of his in Kalinga, Gonka seems to have retained for the rest of his reign without much difficulty for the successors of Anantavarman were no greater than Anantavarman over whom Gonka had victories.

*Gonka and the Kakatiyas* :— The Kakatiyas were a rising power in Telangana, destined to rule over the entire Andhradesa, ultimately subduing the Velanandu Chodas and the Telugu Cholas. The first historical person of the dynasty was Prola. His son and successor was Beta entitled mahamandalesvara and Tribhuvanamalla.<sup>194</sup> He governed part of the Andhra dominions with capital at Anumakonda, as a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI. His son and successor was Prola II. So

long Vikramaditya lived, Prola owed allegiance to the Chalukyas and his Anumakonda inscription is dated in the 42nd year of C.V. era.<sup>195</sup> (A.D. 1117). Some of Prola's enemies who suffered reverses in his hands were Govinda dandesa of the Chalukyas, and Gunda of Mantrakuta. Prola vanquished Jagyadeva, a Santara Chief and feudatory of the Chalukyas and also Taila III. He took Taila III prisoner but later set him at liberty. Prola's successor Rudradeva had a fairly long reign. Thus Gonka's contemporary Kakatiya rulers were Prola II and Rudradeva.

Gonka's records mention the Andhras and their lord As the Velanendu chodas were Andhras ruling over Andhra or Vengi, the mention of Andhras in their records must refer to some other Andhra dynasty. In the absence of evidence to the contrary the Andhras of the Velanandu records probably refer to the Kakatiyas. His Nidubrolu epigraph<sup>196</sup> does not mention Andhra among other kingdoms conquered by Gonka and on the other hand says that uncle Panda was praised in the Court of the Andhra Lord, along with in the Courts of other kings This indicates perhaps that Gonka and Prola II did not come into conflict with each other by that year—A.D. 1132

From the inscriptions<sup>197</sup> of Gonka and his successor, it appears that Gonka II had a victory over the lord of Andhra and his son Choda II bore the epithet Kakatiprolanirdahana. As the last date for Prola is A.D. 1158 and the earliest for Choda II as independent ruler was A.D. 1163, this achievement of Choda II must have taken place in A.D. 1158, when he was the crown prince in Gonka's reign. There are reasons to suppose that Gonka II and Choda had to face the Kakatiyas not in offensive but defensive warfare. For there is a record of Rudra<sup>198</sup> of the Kanatiyas, dated A.D. 1158 at Draksharama and none of Velanandu inscriptions in Kakatiya dominions. So most probably in A.D. 1158, Prola and prince Rudra as the head of the Kakatiya armies invaded the Velanandu kingdom and advanced as far as Draksharama where their progress was stayed by the Velanandu armies headed Gonka and prince Choda. The decisive battle between

the two powers must have taken place at Draksharama for Kakatiya inscriptions are at Draksharama and not beyond and the two Velanandu inscriptions recording Velanandu victories over the Kakatiyas are also at Draksharama. No details of the battle are forthcoming except that Velanandu Choda killed Kakatiya Prola II. This was an important achievement for the Velanandus, which is evidenced by the assumption of the title—Kakatiprolanirdshana by Choda II; but a failure for the Kakatiyas, as their king lost his life in the engagement. But this was only the beginning of the Kakatiya invasions into the Telugu country which were to continue in Rudradeva's reign. In spite of this victory of Gonka over the Kakatiyas, from this time onwards Velanandu Kingdom had to be on guard to face the Kakatiya invasions after being freed from the fear of the Chalukyas. For the rest of Gonka's reign, there were no more battles with the Kakatiyas for probably feeling the power of Gonka, Rudradeva did not come on the Velanandu kingdom.

#### **Gonka and the Hoysalas**

The Hoysalas were rising into prominence by AD 1061-62 in the Mysore territory. In that year Vikramaditya was ruling in west Mysore as a subordinate of the Western Gangas and by AD 1178 he was ruling Gangavadi 96000, as a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI. His successor was his grandson Ballala I who was also a Tribhuvanamalla, ruler of Gangavadi, Nolambavadi and Banavasi"<sup>199</sup> His successor Vishnubardhana alias Bittiga also a Tribhuvanamalla, made Dorasamudra his capital. In A.D. 1136 he is said to have led an expedition into the Telugu country. He was succeeded by his son Narasimha I in A.D. 1141 who reigned till A.D. 1170. He bore the title Vishnuvardhana and by A.D. 1146 he was practically independent though in theory he was a subordinate of Jagadekamalla II.

Gonka's Hoysala contemporaries were Vishnuvardhana and Narasimha I. The references in Gonka's inscriptions to Karmata and its lord probably is to the Hoysalas, for the Chalukyas are referred to as the Kuntalas and the Vijayanagar

had not yet risen in this period. Gonka's inscription of A.D. 1132 mentions Gonka's victory over Karnata and that Panda was praised in the court of the king of Karnata.<sup>200</sup> Here the lord of Karnata must be identified with Vishnuvardhana. Probably while fighting the Chalukyas Gonka met their feudatories the Hoysalas and had some successes over them towards the close of Choda's reign. If the Telugu country invaded by Vishnuvardhana in A.D. 1136 refers to the Velanandu kingdom it may be argued that he undertook this expedition to wreak vengeance for his earlier defeat at Choda's hands. Gonka's inscriptions are silent about this expedition of the Hoysala king. But after A.D. 1136, Gonka seems to have opposed Vishnuvardhana once again<sup>201</sup> during his successful fight with the Chalukyas of Kalyani on the Godavari soon after his accession to the throne. As Somesvara III was present on the battlefield there is no impossibility of Vishnuvardhana, his subordinate, being present there with his armies. After this, no more references to the relationship between Gonka and his Karnata contemporaries are available.

### Gonka and the Yadavas

The early Yadavas of Seunadesa date from the 8th century A.D. The first among the Yadavas of Devagiri was Mallugi, the father of Bhillama (A.D. 1187-1191). Taking advantage of the unsettled political condition in Karnata and Kuntala, Mallugi and his sons fought the Kalachuri Bijjala and his armies.<sup>202</sup>

The references to Marata and its lord in Velanandu inscriptions undoubtedly refer to the Yadava kingdom and its kings. Unfortunately, for Mallugi, chronology is uncertain. By A.D. 1132, Panda is said to have been praised in the court of the king of Marata and by A.D. 1147 Gonka claims to have won a victory over the Maratas.<sup>203</sup> Most probably, Gonka met Mallugi or his subordinates as feudatories of Somesvara III during the battle on the Godavari and inflicted a defeat on his armies.

### Gonka and the Telugu Chodas

Gonka's Telugu Choda contemporaries were Tribhuvanamalla C.M. and his sons Nannichoda and Kannaradeva—of Konidena; and MPC Siddharasa of Pottapi.

The only sign of conflict between Gonka and the Telugu Cholas is from the inscription dated A.D. 1140 at Nadenella where Gonka is mentioned as lion to the cheeta i.e. Siddhi beta.<sup>204</sup> Probably this refers to Gonka's victory over the Telugu Choda prince in extending the kingdom early in his reign to the south. After A.D. 1140, for the rest of his reign, Gonka and the Telugu Chodas were on friendly terms which is seen from the record of A.D. 1146<sup>205</sup> at Konidena registering a combined grant by Gonka II and Tribhuvanamalla Chodadeva. Besides, an officer of Gonka built the Ballisvara temple at Konidena. These suffice to show Gonka's influence over the Telugu Cholas and their kingdoms.

*Gonka and other dynasties :—* The Chagis with capital at Gudimetta were coming into prominence in this period. The use of Tyagi godyas,<sup>206</sup> by a subordinate of Gonka II, indicates friendly relations between the Velanandus and the Chagis. Of the Eastern Chalukyas of Pithapur, Vishnuvardhana II<sup>207</sup> was ruling. Probably Gonka came into contact with him while extending his kingdom. Gonka was on friendly terms with Kamaraja of the Haihayas of Palnad for in A.D. 1147 the officers of both kings made a combined gift at Peddakodamagandla<sup>208</sup>

The Mandadi chiefs ruling about Sattenapalle<sup>209</sup> were feudatories of Gonka. They claim lordship over Giripaschima district and Tanirumbariti. Mandadi Matta was a subordinate of Gonka. Of the Ayya family, the four sons of Narayana-Chodi, Bhima II, Pinnachodi and Brama, served in the army of the king of the Chola country<sup>210</sup> which no doubt refer to the Velanandu country and king Gonka II.

Boddana and Bhimana, of the Telugu Pallavas of Guntur, owed allegiance to Gonka. Komma nayaka, lord of Davulur and of Durjaya lineage,<sup>211</sup> Erapota and Bhima, Mandadi Kommana, lord of Crigandi (varagani)<sup>212</sup> were some of the subordinates of Gonka.

Gonka claims victories over the kings of Lata, and Gauda and the courts in which Panda is praised, include Kerala, Lata, Gauda, Anga, and Nepala

## CHODA II AD 1163–1180

Son of Gonka and Sabbambika, Choda II ascended the Velanandu throne in A.D. 1163 and ruled for a period of seventeen years. A distinguished warrior and administrator, throughout his reign, Choda retained the extent of the kingdom undiminished and made further addition to it on all sides. Building on the foundations of his three great predecessors Choda had a peaceful and prosperous reign. His victorious military expeditions brought in their train extension of territory followed up by consolidation. Like Gonka II, he is said to have ruled over the country between the Setu and the Narmada.<sup>213</sup> His kingdom was bounded on the four sides by the Eastern ocean, the Kalahasti hill, the Mahendrachala and Srisaïlam.<sup>214</sup> Unlike his predecessors Choda assumed imperialistic titles, like sarvalokasraya.<sup>215</sup> He vanquished the Gangas, the Chalukyas, Kalachuryas of Kalyani and the Kakatiyas. Choda continued diplomatic marriage alliances with the local subordinate powers like the Haihayas and the Kondapadumatis. But unfortunately he was the last of the great Velanandus to rule over the entire Andhra land, for from the succeeding reign onwards, the kingdom was on the downward trend with enemies on all sides, Choda left to his son and successor Gonka III an undiminished and consolidated kingdom.

### Growth and the Extent of the Kingdom :

Like his father's, Choda's inscriptions are numerous and the only C.P. grant of the dynasty belongs to his reign. Keyurabahucharita the only literary source of the dynasty sheds plenty of light on the political history of this reign in particular. Choda's earliest inscription<sup>216</sup> dated A.D. 1142 is from Draksharama. From that date Choda, as conjoint ruler with Gonka played none the less an important role in the

affairs of the kingdom. His assumption of the sceptre independently in A.D. 1163 was signalled by his inscriptions at Bhattiprolu, Srikakulam and Draksharama. In that year, Choda II is said to be a vairimadebhasimha [in the battlefield and to have conquered the kings of Trikalinga, Kuntala and Magadha.<sup>217</sup> By A.D. 1165 he conquered Kolanu and Kona Kingdoms and styled himself a Durjayakulaprakara and ruler of Andhra 16000. By A.D. 1169 Choda claims to be ruling over the country between the Setu and the Narmada.<sup>218</sup> The location of Choda's inscription at Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1170<sup>219</sup> marks the western bound of the kingdom. In A.D. 1171 Choda assumed the title chalukyarajyabhavanamulasthambha. By A.D. 1175 he is said to have vanquished Kelanu Bhima ruling over the entire Vengik kingdom of which the foremost country is stated to be Velanandu vishaya. In some records<sup>220</sup> Choda bore the title Chatussatssitigramavanivallabha and is said to have brought under him the sea girt earth. The places—Srikurmam, Kurudurti, Krottacherla, Tripurantakam, Kottidoan, Boggaram and Elamanchili<sup>221</sup>—where minister Kommana made gifts indicate the extent of Choda's kingdom. A record at Ghantasala dated A.D. 1176<sup>222</sup> praises the prosperity of the country of Velanandu i.e. Velanandu and the greatness of its ruler.

### Choda's political relations

Choda II was variously known as Rajendra Chodayaraja, Velananti Rajendra choda, Rajendra choda, Velananti Kulottunga chola, Rajendra choda raju, Kulottunga rajendra, chodaraju, Kulottunga Velananti Rajendra chodayaraja, Kulottunga rejendra chola, mamma chola Virarajendra chodi kumara, Rajendra Kulottunga chodaraja, Velananti choda, Choda deva, Rajendra chodikumara, Chods, and Kulottunga Chodauadevamaharaja. Trained under Gonka II, Choda was loyal to the Cholas. Towards the close of his reign from A.D. 1176 he associated his son Gonka III in the governance of the kingdom. In his Prasasti—the epithets—Pratapalankesvara, dayagajasingha, sahasottunga, ripumadastambha and chalamartiganda at test his valour. He was a

mahasenapati. Here it may be noted that as Gonka's reign lasted till A.D. 1162 and that of Choda began by A.D. 1163, there was no interrugnāṁ from A.D. 1157 to 1163 as was supposed by some writers.<sup>223</sup> The only reverse he suffered was about A.D. 1180 in Kalachuri hands. Choda owed his political successes to his excellent armies and great generals and feudatory chiefs and their armies.

### Choda II and the Chalukyas of Vengi

The Chalukyas of Vengi ceased to exist long before Choda's reign. His bearing of the titles—*elevator of the Chalukyarajya*, *chalukya vajya bhavana mulasthambha*, *sarvalokasraya* and *maharaja* led to the opinion that "the last traces of Eastern Chalukya otherwise called Chola Chalukya supremacy completely disappeared from the Velanandu country by this time and the Velanandu chief aspired to be its representative."<sup>224</sup> But as will be shown below Chalukya Chola supremacy continued throughout Choda's reign and his assumption of the titles does not mean the end of his loyalty to the Cholas.

### Choda and Imperial Cholas :

Choda's contemporaries on the imperial Chola throne were Rajaraja II Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III. "The latest certain regnal year cited in Rajaraja's inscriptions is 26. A record from Tiruvorriyūr seems to give the twenty-seventh year, though the first figure in this date is not free from doubt. Another inscription from Konidena gives 28, but the *sakatan* is missing. The end of Rajaraja's reign would therefore fall about A.D. 1173. The inscriptions of his successor Rajadhiraja II date the commencement of his reign from some day in the month of March A.D. 1163 : it is clear from one of these that Rajadhiraja was not the son of Rajaraja, but like Rajaraja himself, a grandson of Vikramachola and that he was chosen by Rajaraja to succeed him on the Chola throne as there was no one in the direct line suitable for the purpose.<sup>225</sup> "Thus Rajadhiraja, a grandson of Vikramachola by a daughter was chosen as heir apparent by Rajaraja II and ruled as co-regent

for about eight years. From about A D 1169 to 1177, Rajadhiraja was busy conducting the civil war in the Pandyan kingdom. As for the extent 'that under Rajadhiraja the Chola empire continued to retain the same proportions as under Rajaraja II may be inferred from the provenance of his inscriptions which are found in Nellore and Kalahasti and Wandallur.'<sup>226</sup> His reign extended up to A.D. 1179 to 1182 according as A.D. 1163 or 1166 is adopted for the commencement of his reign.

Kulottunga III had come to be recognised as the sovereign prior to the death of Rajadhiraja, as his rule began between the 6th and 8th July 1178 A.D. Accepting his identification with Kumara Kulottunga, it appears that "he was not of the direct line of the Imperial Cholas any more than his predecessor." His inscriptions "very often exhibit besides the prasastis, some descriptive titles of the monarch which are a great help in the identification of his inscriptions and the study of the history of the reign."

To quote Professor Sastri, "the incidents thus recorded in Kulottunga's inscriptions cannot be understood without a resume of the political changes that were taking place outside the Chola kingdom. Towards the close of the life of Rajaraja II, the Velanandu kings felt themselves equal to the task of asserting and maintaining their independence against their Chalukya Chola suzerains. This was the period when the Kakatiyas were coming up in the north, while in the west the Chalukyas having suffered a defeat from Kakatiya Prola, were thrown into the shade by the usurpation of Bijjala. The consequent weakness of the Western Chalukya kingdom gave the occasion for the Hoysalas to rise to the rank of an independent power, at the same time Telugu Chodas and the Velanandu rulers, who had till then been either subordinate to the Chalukyas or had lived in fear of them and therefore in subordinate alliance with the Cholas breathed more freely and soon began to entertain plans of aggrandisement. It is remarkable that no inscriptions of Rajadhiraja II have been found in Nellore or the Circars. And it appears that Gonka II at the close of the reign and suzerainty his son Rajendra Choda assumed the titles and insignia of independent status. In fact with the close of Rajaraja's reign we have come to interval

in the history of the Telugu country in which the Chola power was withdrawn and the Kakatiya power had not yet taken its place—a period of about a generation in which many minor dynasties like the Kotas the Chagis and Konas and others divide the country and owe no allegiance to a common power.”<sup>227</sup>

Choda's loyalty to the Chola emperors is attested by his numerous records dated in emperor's regnal years. The earliest of the series<sup>228</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1140 and the 4th year of Rajaraja II. Another from the same locality is dated in the 7th year of the emperor.<sup>17</sup> One of Choda's records from Bapatla is dated 1156 and the 11th year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajarajadeva II.<sup>229</sup> An epigraph at Draksharma is dated A.D. 1158 and the 13th year of Rajaraja.<sup>230</sup>

In A.D. 1163 the initial year of Choda's independent rule all the inscriptions from Draksharama<sup>231</sup> and the one from Bhat-tiprelu<sup>232</sup> are dated in the 18th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja II. Thus like Gonka, Choda began his rule by doing homage to the Chola throne. His loyalty continued till the end of Rajaraja's reign. For, three records<sup>233</sup> from Draksharama, and one<sup>234</sup> from Penumuli<sup>235</sup> all of Choda are dated A.D. 1165 and the 20th year of Rajaraja. Choda's inscription from Kondamunjalur<sup>236</sup> is dated A.D. 1166 and the 21st year of the emperor. His Draksharama inscription is dated 1169 A.D. and in Rajaraja's reign. From the c.p. grant dated A.D. 1169 and the 23rd year of Rajaraja, it is clear that Choda was a vassal and general of Rajaraja and received from him the Andhra country comprised with in the eastern ocean, Kalahasti, Mahendra and Srisailam with all the insignia of a feudatory chief.<sup>237</sup> This is obviously a formal confirmation on Rajaraja's part of Choda's rulership over the Andhra and reminds us of the conferment of Andhra land with bounds specified by Kulottunga I on Choda I. Choda II's Appikatla inscription<sup>238</sup> is dated A.D. 1182 and the 26th year of Rajaraja and the Konideva epigraph<sup>239</sup> in the 28th year of Rajaraja II and A.D. 1183. Besides, many other records with dates lost, are issued in Rajaraja's reign. Thus Choda's inscriptions dated in Rajaraja's years range from the 4th to the 28th year.

In A.D. 1176 Gonka was a commander of Vijayaraja.<sup>240</sup>

The 4th year of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana and A.D. 1177 are known from a record at Draksharama.<sup>241</sup> Vijayaraja and Vishnuvardhana may refer to Rajadhiraja II mentioned thus by his Eastern Chalukya titles. Setting aside the indefinite references to the Chola monarcha, none of Chola emperors and their regnal years occur in Velanandu records—after A.D. 1173 or 1177 till A.D. 1180—the last year of Choda, was due perhaps to the assumption by Choda of an attitude that no regular and formal recognition of Chola authority was necessary after the renewal of the confirmation of his kingdom by Rajaraja in A.D. 1169, and the lack of interest in the affairs of Vengi affairs in the reigns of Rajadhiraja and Kulottunga III.

*Choda and the Western Chalukyas*: King Jagadekamalla III succeeded Taila III in A.D. 1163 “Some of his titles besides the usual prasasti were Chalukya Chakreswara, Pratapa Chakravarti, and Chalukya Chakravarti. He is mentioned as Bhuvallabharaja Permadideva and Tribhuvana Malla Permadiraja, Among his feudatories was Vijayapandya of Uchchanji ruling over Nolambavadi 32000. Probably Jagadekamalle’s rule continued throughout the Kalachurya regime” it is possible he continued to rule with his brother Somesvara IV”<sup>242</sup> after A.D. 1154.

*The Kalachuris of Kalyani*, who ruled for a period of 27 years claimed some connection with the Kalachuris or Haihayas of central India. The founder was Krishna : a descendant of his was Kannamadeva who had two sons—Bijjaladeva and Raja. Raja had four sons Ammugi, Sanklvarma, Kannara and Jayama. Permadī, son of Jayama, as feudatory of Somesvara III ruled Tardavadi i.e. the country about Bijapur. His son was Bijjala who began the usurpation in A.D. 1155 which was complete by A.D. 1162. Bijjala started an era dating from Dhatu A.D. 1157 and assumed the titles—Kalachuryani-jabhujabalachakravarti Tribhuvana malladeva. In A.D. 1162, he assumed the full imperialistic prasasti. Samastabhuvana-sraya, srīprithvivallabha, maharajadhiraja, parameswara and paramabhattaraka. His younger Mailugideva ruled a part of his kingdom. Sovideva, Sankamadeva, Ahavamalla and Singhana, sons of Bijjala, succeeded to the throne one after another. In A.D. 1167 Bijjala abdicated in favour of Sovideva or Somesvara.

Some of his epithets were Rajadhiraja, Rajamartanda, Bhujabalamalla, Kayamurari, Kalachuryachakravarti and Kalachurya bhujabala Chakravarti.<sup>243</sup> Among his feudatories were Viragonkarasa of Bana race and his son Vira Kalarasa. Sankamadeva succeeded Sovideva in A.D. 1177 and his prasasti has the titles—Kalachuryachakravarti, kalachurya-bhujabala chakravarti and Nissankamalla, One of his feudatories was Viragonkarasa. The kingdom seems to have experienced some trouble in Sankama's reign. Kavana or Kavanayya, a descendant of Bankarasa of Baluhara in Sagari country, was a great minister with 72 officials under him. He bore the titles-Gandapendara and Gandaragova and his younger brother was Mahadeva Dandanayaka. Kavana is said to have proved himself the "upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kalachuryas. Apparently he put down certain of the feudatories and probably also some of the more troublesome independent neighbours among whom must be classed the ruler of Velnanda cholaya, Hoysala and Kaikana countries."<sup>244</sup> Sankara appears to have ruled till the end of A.D. 1180 and was succeeded in A.D. 1181 by Ahavamalla.

Choda, inscriptions show came into conflict with the Chalukyas and the Kalachuris of Kalyani. Soon after he began his independent rule, Choda, led a military expedition into the Chalukyan kingdom and inflicted a defeat on its king. Jagadekamalla or Kelachuri Bijala taking advantage of the political confusion in the capital—Kalyani. For his record dated A.D. 1163 says<sup>245</sup> that he conquered the lord of Kuntala and taken his country and that when Choda used to start on military expedition, the lord of Kuntala along with others used to fear the sounds and make obeisance to him. Here Kuntala refers to the Chalukyas or Kalachuris and Kuntala lord refers to either Jagadikamalla III or Bijjala. Probably Choda II had the support of his overlord Rajaraja II in A.D. 1163 in leading this expedition into Kuntala as the record mentioning this Victory of a Choda is dated in Rajaraja's regnal year By A.D. 1179 Choda was ruling over the entire Andhra—from Setu to Narmada<sup>246</sup> Choda, thus in his relations with the rulers of Kalyani, went a step further than Gonka II : for the latter ended Chalukyan

rule in Vengi and Choda II advanced his power into the Chalukyan kingdom. He seems to have maintained this position of his till almost the close of his reign as no records after A.D. 1163 make any references to the Kuntala and its lords.

But about A.D. 1180, Choda appears to have suffered a defeat in the Kalachurya hands. For, from the Honnali inscription<sup>247</sup> of A.D. 1180 Kavana, a minister of Sankamadeva, claims, victory over the ruler of Velnada Choleya who is undoubtedly Choda II of Velanandus. This appears to have been a crushing defeat for the Velanandus which must have cost them the loss of the benefits of the victories in the beginning of the reign. Perhaps this accounts for the silence of the Velanandu records on this incident. Obviously it was a brilliant victory for the Kalachuryas—one of those on the basis of which Kavana styled himself the upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kalachuryas. The causes which brought about this conflict are not known. Most probably along with the Hoysalas and others, Choda II was giving constant trouble to the Kalachuryas especially after Bijjala's abdication in A.D. 1167 by leading frequent attacks into the Kuntala country and hence proved a "troublesome independent neighbour." And on one such occasion, about A.D. 1180 he suffered a set back in the hands of Kavana of the Kalachuris.

*Choda II and Kalinga* : Raghava and Rajaraja were the Ganga contemporaries of Choda II. Rajaraja was the 3rd son of Anantavarman Choda Ganga and his accession was due to that Kamarnava and Raghava died childless. The earliest and latest dates known for him were A.D 1171 and 1190 respectively. Rajaraja was succeeded by Ananga Bhima in A.D. 1190.

Choda's inscription from Draksharama dated A.D. 1163 mentions his victory over the lord of Trikalanga and that fearing the sounds of Chola starting on expedition he submitted to him.<sup>248</sup> So soon after his accession Choda II seems to have advanced into Kalinga and won a series of victories over the local rulers. The lord of Kalinga probably refers

to Raghava. No details of the expedition are known. As the record is dated in the 18th year of Rajaraja, it is likely that Choda II had the Chola support in this Kalinga expedition. The results of the expedition are obvious from the c.p. grant which says that Andhramandala extended up to Mahendragiri in A.D. 1169.<sup>249</sup> But as Gonka II's kingdom included Mahendragiri, Choda's expedition would have been necessitated by the local rebellions in the conquered tracts. This punitive expedition into Kalinga was commanded by Choda's minister, Kammanapreggada, who according to Manchana,<sup>250</sup> attacked the feudatories of Kataka or Orissa who invaded, at Krottu Choda<sup>251</sup> and defeated them. Among the Kalingan armies, the elephantry and cavary find special mention in this connection. The battle, however, was the consequence of the rebellion and invasion of the Kalingan armies against Choda II. It must have taken place either in A.D. 1163 or definitely before 1169 A.D. The battle at Krottacherla was a decisive victory : for the Velanandus and was followed by Choda's expedition into Kalinga and consequent subjugation of the territory upto Mahendragiri. It may be noted here, that the country from Pithapur to Mahendra was known as Kalinga and was part of Trikalanga. Kommana's gifts to temples at Srikurmam, Kurudurti, Krotta cherla, Tripurantakam, Kottidona, Boggaram and Elamanchilli in Kalingarashtra<sup>252</sup> were intended as thanks offering for his recent victories in Kalinga.

### Choda and the Kakatiyas

The occupant of the Kakatiya throne in this period was Rudradeva (A.D. 1158-1199). He vanquished Domma, Mailigi i.e. Mallugi of the Yadavas of Devagiri, Bhima and took his capital Vardhamanagiri. He burnt the capital of the Cholas of Kundur, who rebelled against his authority. His conquests resulted in the extension of the Kakatiya kingdom. One of his inscriptions gives the boundaries of his kingdom as follows : Srisailam on the south, Malyavanta on the north, the Chalukyan kingdom on the west and says that all the kings between Kanchi and the Vindhya sought his protection.<sup>253</sup> Throughout his reign, Rudradeva was troubling the east coast, attempting to spread his power in these regions.

He appears to have invaded the east coast in A.D. 1158, 1162<sup>254</sup> A.D. and afterwards too. One of his records dated A.D. 1186 is at Draksharama.

Choda, in his father's reign in A.D. 1158, defeated and killed Prola II of the Kakatiyas. In his reign, he came into conflict with Rudradeva not in offensive but defensive warfare. Soon after the death of Gonka II, Rudradeva, perhaps as a measure of retaliation for Prola's death in enemy hands, invaded the east coast in A.D. 1163. There is no evidence to show that the invasion was a success for the Kakatiyas, and Kakatiya power did not spread in the east coast immediately afterwards. On the otherhand, Choda seems to have met the enemy, defeated and checked Kakatiya advance as the grants to Tripurantaka at Komaragiri,<sup>255</sup> and inscriptions at Tripurantakam<sup>256</sup> would show. But that was not the end of the matter. Rudra persisted in delivering constant attacks on Choda's kingdom and consequently on that frontier, the Velanandu armies had to be ever alert ready to confront the Kakatiya in records. Probably this necessity explains the excellent condition of the Velanandu armies in Choda's reign. Rudra's Draksharama record dated A.D. 1186 indicates his advance thus far, at the end of the reign of Gonka III, successor of Choda II. The series of inscriptions of Choda at Draksharama show that it was part of the Velanandu kingdom through out his reign and as has been supposed wrongly<sup>257</sup> no part of his kingdom was lost to the Kakatiyas.

### **Choda and the Hoysalas**

The Hoysala contemporaries of Choda were Narasimha I (A.D. 1143-1173) and Ballala II. In a record of A.D. 1173, Narasimha I is described as sporting in the company of women of different countries including Andhra, Simhala, Karnata, Lata, Chola, Gauda, Bangala and Malava. About the same time Ballala, coregent with Narasimha I from A.D. 1168, rebelled attempting to set up independent rule and on Narasimha's death crowned himself at Dorasamudra and was also known as Viraballala and Yadavamarayana. Chola's reign lasted from A.D. 1173 to 1220 and he had victories

over the Chengalvas (A.D. 1173), the Ucnchvangi Pandyas (A.D. 1177), the Kalachuryas (A.D. 1179) and the Savunas in A.D. 1191. "His reign vied in glory with that of his grand father Vishnuvardhana and the Hoysala dynasty came to be later called Ballala after him."<sup>258</sup>

An inscription of Choda dated 1170 mentions that general Gonka, son of Choda, an officer of Gonka II, and Kattamba, defended the town of Krochcheruvu against the Karnataka cavalry numbering not less than 30,000. Here Karnataka is a reference to the Hoysalas whose king at this time was Narasimha I. Probably in A.D. 1170, the Hoysala armies under the lead of prince Ballala started on an expedition of conquest and proceeded towards the Velanandu kingdom. Their progress was stayed at Krochcheruvu by the Velanandu armies probably led by Kommana preggada. Few details of the battle are available. The battle must have been fierce, sanguinary, longdrawn and cost enormous losses on both sides. For to defeat the Karnata Cavalry of 30,000, Choda II must have put in the field equally strong and numerous armies. No doubt it was an important victory for the Velanandus. It may be noted here that Karnata does not refer to the Chalukyas or Kalachuris who are referred to as Kuntalas in inscriptions and so the statement that "The fight at Krochcheruvu must have been with the armies of Bijjala and probably in alliance with the Kakatiyas of Hanumakonda who were just then shaking off the Western Chalukya yoke."<sup>259</sup> is of no value. After this, Choda and the Hoysalas do not seem to have come into conflict with each other which may have been due to that the Hoysalas did not make bold to invade the Velanandu kingdom so long Choda lived. The Andhras in the Hoysala inscription dated A.D. 1173<sup>260</sup> refers to the Kakatiyas and not to the Velanandu Chodas.

### Choda and the Telugu Chodas

Some of the Telugu Chola rulers were Siddharasa of Nellore, and Chodaballi and Nannichoda of Konideva line. According to Manchana, Choda's minister and general Kommanapraggada ruled over Pakanadu 21000.<sup>261</sup> Pakanadu was formerly ruled over by Chodaballi, father of Nannichoda.

Most probably by A.D. 1170 Kommana invaded Pakanadu, killed Nannichoda, entitled Tenkanaditya, conquered Pakanadu and ruled over it with the permission of Choda II.

### **Choda and the Kolamu Chiefs**

The Kolamu rajas or Saronaths ruled over the Godavari tract with Kolamu i.e. Sarasipura as capital. From the Sripuram record<sup>262</sup> of A.D. 1165, Choda appears to have conquered Kolamu and killed there his arch enemy Bhima. This is supported by the c.p. grant dated A.D. 1169 which says that Choda killed Bhima of Konnadu (i.e. Kolamu). Another Sripuram record A.D. 1175<sup>263</sup> mentions that Choda with the strength of his arm conquered Kolamu and killed the powerful enemy Bhima. Lastly the Pithapur Pillar inscription says that Choda dried up the lake i.e. saras and killed Bhima. Besides there is a chatu verse mentioning Rajendra Choda's defeat of Kolamu Bhima.<sup>264</sup>

From these references it appears that Bhima of Kolamu gave trouble to Choda II soon after the latter's accession as his predecessor Bhima did to Choda I. Subsequently Choda invaded the Kolamu territory by A.D. 1165, with a dam or bridge across the water to reach Bhima, who had evidently taken refuge in an island fortress, killed him as his grandfather Choda I killed Kolamu Bhima with the help of Vikramachola. The similarity in the names of the two Velamandu Chodas, and the two Kolamu kings, and the similarity in circumstances that brought about similar results made some writers<sup>265</sup> remark that Choda II simply appropriated for himself the achievements of his grandfather Choda I. Choda II's victory is mentioned in later inscriptions, and for the rest of his reign, the Kolamu rajas did not give him any trouble.

### **Choda and the Kona Haihayas**

The Kona Haihayas in Konamandala in this period were Mallideva, son of Rajendra Chola and Manmachoda, son of Kona Loka. There is no evidence whether they rebelled soon after Chola's accession. Probably they did rebel which must have

necessitated the Velanandu conquest of the Kona country by A.D. 1164—with in a year of Choda's accession. His inscription dated A.D. 1165<sup>266</sup> mentions that his minister Devanapreggada of Amritalur conquered the Kona country. As no records<sup>267</sup> of Choda's initial year A.D. 1163 mention the Kona conquest it must have taken place after A.D. 1163 and in A.D. 1164. In A.D. 1165 Devana Peggada gave lumps to Bhimesvara of Draksharama after sub-siding Kona. This is a thanks offering to Bhimesvara by Devana for having achieved an important victory over the Konas.<sup>268</sup> Nearly a decade after this Kona conquest in A.D. 1174-75, the Velanandus had to subdue the Kona country once again. Probably Kona Lokabhupala rebelled and tried to shake off the Velanandu suzerainty though in vain. Choda's inscription at Pedamakkena<sup>269</sup> dated 1175 mentions that Prolayanayaka, son of Damana of Interu on the Tungabhadra in Velanandu, destroyed Kona Loka. Thus the second conquest of Kona by Choda II appears to have been thorough as the ruler himself. Loka was killed. So Choda, for the major part of his reign had trouble from the Konas and after A.D. 1175 nothing is heard of any hostilities between the two powers.

### **Choda and the Kondapadumatis**

The Mandadi chiefs ruling the Giripasihima district with capital at Tanirumbariti continued their subordination to the Velanandu Chodas in this period. Prolinayaka and Mallinayaka of this family were subordinate to Choda II.

Of the Kondapadumatis ruling over Shatsahasra, Buddharaja's son of Manda II was important. One<sup>270</sup> of his epigraphs dated A.D. 1171 is at Trsandavole, the Velanandu capital. Buddharaja's sister Ankama or Akkama<sup>271</sup> was the wife of Choda II. So it is likely that Choda and Buddha were on friendly terms. This is supported by Choda's title Durjaya-kulaprakara i.e. rappart of the Durjaya family found in his record<sup>272</sup> as early as A.D. 1165 from Siripuram and repeated in another from the same place with date A.D. 1175.<sup>273</sup> As the Kondapadumatis were Durjayas the title shows that Choda was friendly with them as well as other Durjayas.

### Choda and the Haihayas of Palnad

Choda contracted a diplomatic marriage alliance with the Haikayas of Palnad with capital at Gurizala. Choda's daughter Mailama was married to Aluguraja of the Haikayas.<sup>274</sup> Anugu's son by her Halagama succeeded him on the throne at Gurizala.

### Choda and other dynasties

Probably Choda was on friendly terms with the Kotas of Amravati. Kota Chodaraja, son of Vinjampotaraju before the title-Kakati—Prolanirdahana.<sup>275</sup> It is likely that he joined prince Choda in defeating the Kakatiyas in the reign of Gonka II. The Eastern Chalukyas at Pithapur represented by Narendra and Mallapa III were subordinate to Choda II.

A Rautaraya seems to have been a feudatory of Choda towards the close of his reign. One Kapanayaka bore the epithet (Veladi) Kulottunga Choda nistaraka.<sup>276</sup> If this Kulottunga is Choda II, it may be conceded that Kapa helped Choda II in extending his kingdom.

### GONKA III. A.D 1181—1185

Gonka's accession took place in A.D. 1181. He was the son of Choda by Akkambika and his reign was the shortest of all the Velanandu kings lasting for five years. He was a strong ruler and his reign was peaceful and uneventful but not disastrous as supposed by some writers<sup>1</sup> under him the kingdom remained undiminished in extent and strength.

*Extent of the kingdom* : The small number of Gonka's inscriptions and Manchana's omission to mention him set on scholars<sup>277</sup> to doubt Gonka's existence and seek causes for the lack of inscriptions between A.D. 1181 to 1186. But Gonka's inscriptions and those of later times of this and other dynasties<sup>278</sup> prove beyond doubt Gonka's rule and existence. Manchana's omission may have been due to the brevity and event less nature of the reign.

Gonka's earliest inscription<sup>279</sup> is from Trandavole, the Velanandu capital. Another of the same year is from Moparru.<sup>280</sup> The Rajahmundry record dated A.D. 1176<sup>281</sup> belongs to Gonka and not to Prithvisvara as has been wrongly supposed.<sup>282</sup> Gonka's record dated A.D. 1180 at Rajahmundry is the first

after he began independent rule. Another record of his with date lost is from Draksharama and mentions him as the lord of Shatsahasra.<sup>283</sup> The Pithapur pillar inscription says that Gonka destroyed all hostile chiefs. His inscriptions from Bapatla to Rajahmundry attest the extent of the kingdom.

*Gonka's political relations* : In his and later records, Gonka is mentioned as Velanandu Gonka, Kulottunga Gonka Gokaraju, Choda Gonka maharaja and Manmagonka. Though a warrior of merit, his time was taken up in maintaining peace and order with in and without the kingdom.

#### **Gonka and the Cholas**

The Chola emperor was Kulottunga III (1178-1216 A.D.) Gonka did not date his records in the emperor's regnal years and so that exhibits no proof of his loyalty to Kulothunga.

#### **Gonka and the Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyani**

Ahavamalla succeeded his brother Sankama in A.D. 1181 at Kalyani. He ruled with Sankama from A.D. 1179 and his latest date is his fourth regnal year A.D. 1183.<sup>284</sup> Some of his titles were Kalachuryachakravarti, Kalachuryabhujabala chakravarti and Viranarayana. He was succeeded by his younger brother Singamadeva entitled maharajadhiraja.

In A.D. 1185, Somesvara IV destroyer of the Kalachurya race restored the Chalukya power for a time. He assumed the usual Chalukyan prasasti. As Choda suffered a reverse in Kalachurya hands, Gonka III does not seem to have followed his policy of aggression towards the rulers of Kalyani, the Kalachuris and the Chalukyas.

*Gonka and the Kakatiyas* : The Kakatiya ruler at the time was Rudradeva. He seems to have invaded the Velanandu kingdom towards the close of Gonka's reign and advanced as far as Draksharama where an inscription of his dated A.D. 1186 is found. It has been argued<sup>285</sup> that Gonka III opposed Rudradeva and died, his son Prithvisvara fled to Pithapur and Rudradeva extended his kingdom into the present Godavari and Kistna districts.

But this argument cannot be accepted for want of sufficient data. Though Gonka is not heard of after A.D. 1186 there

is no reason to suppose his failure in the battle and death. If Rudradeva was victorious and killed Gonka, he would have recorded with pride his achievement in the record dated A.D. 1186 at Draksharama.<sup>286</sup> So it appears that Gonka met the Kakatiya invaders at Draksharama and checked their further progress by conquering them. Thus as in previous reigns, the Velanandu armies under Gonka III were victorious over the Kakatiyas.

### **Gonka and the Kondapadumatis**

Friendly relations between the Velanandus and the Kondapadumatis continued in this reign. Gonka's mother Akkama was the sister of Buddha. His wife Jayambika, was a princess of the Kondapadumatis.<sup>287</sup> The alliance must have strengthened Gonka as against his enemies.

### **Gonka and the Kotas**

Gonka and Kota Keta II must have had friendly relations. The Kota records at Amravati and Velpur dated A.D. 1182 mention that Sabbambika, wife of Bhima II and mother of Keta, was the sister of Gonka II.<sup>288</sup> There is no reason to suppose any deviation from the policy of alliance between the two powers in this reign.

### **Gonka and the Haihayas of Palnad**

The Haihayas must have continued their subordination to Gonka III as they did to Choda II. The civil war in Palnad between Nalagama and his cousins lasted from A.D. 1176 to 1182. No doubt this war absorbed Gonka's attention and affected the resources of his kingdom and encouraged Rudradeva of the Kakatiyas to invade Velanandu towards the close of Gonka III's reign.

### **Gonka and the Kona Haikayas**

The Konamandala was thoroughly subdued by Choda II. Hence it may be presumed that the relationship of suzerainty and subordination continued in Gonka's reign on the part of the Velanandus and the Kona Haikayas respectively.

*Gonka and other powers :* Of the Ayya family, Pinnachodi had three sons—Prithva, Jaya and Narayana<sup>289</sup> who must have

been in the service of Gonka III. Mallaya of the Chalukyas of Pithapur owed allegiance to Gonka III.

### PRITHVISVARA A.D. 1186—1209-1210

Son of Gonka III by Jaya mahadevi, Prithvisvara ascended the throne in A.D. 1186 the earliest date available for him. His reign lasted for about 24 years. He was the last of the Velanandu Cholas to rule over the extensive Velanandu kingdom comprising almost the entire Andhra land. He was trained as a warrior and administrator as conjoint ruler with Gonka III. Prithvisvara bore the epithet Rajarajaparamesvara.<sup>290</sup> In his reign, the kingdom did not suffer any visible curtailment though its vitality was being sapped out invisibly slowly and steadily. Dissensions at home and invasions from abroad from powers like the Kakatiyas and the Telugu Chodas proved beyond his control and ultimately Prithvisvara fell a victim to the inevitable. Prithvisvara's long and peaceful reign in the teeth of adverse political circumstances attests his capacities and personality.

#### Extent of the kingdom

Prithvisvara's records are greater in number than Gonka III's and are important in determining the chronology of the reign and the extent of the kingdom. His earliest record is the Pithapur pillar inscription dated A.D. 1186 registering a grant by the queen mother Jayama. The record from Srikurmam is dated A.D. 1191.<sup>291</sup> Prithvisvara's overlordship over the Konamandala is evident from the Kona Hathaya pillar inscription dated A.D. 1195 at Pithapur.<sup>292</sup> His Dimile and Srikurman inscriptions bear the dates 1192 and 1196 respectively.<sup>293</sup> His Vizagapatam record dated 1199 A.D.<sup>294</sup> has been usually taken to be his last. But it is not so. For his inscription dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajadhiraja, is at Draksharama.<sup>295</sup> Here Rajadhiraja refers to Kulottunga III and his 31st year corresponds to 1209-1210 A.D. Lastly an inscription dated 1210 A.D. at Bapatla<sup>296</sup> mentions Chodagonka, son of Akkamahadevi, sister of Prithvi Gonka ruling. Probably this Choda gonka was a provincial governor under Prithvisvara. These last two records lengthen the reign of

Prithvisvara by a decade A.D. 1199 to 1210 and show that his capital was at Tsandavole and not Pithapur<sup>297</sup>, and that he did not lose the northern parts of the kingdom<sup>298</sup> as is disproved by the location of his Bapatla inscription.

### Prithvisvara's political relations

Inscriptions and literature mention Prithvisvara as Kulottunga Prithvisvara, Velananti Kulottunga Prithvisvaramaharajulu, Kulottunga Prithvisvara deva maharaja, Prithvi Gonka, and Prithvisvara. He is more well known than Gonka III for recorded tradition<sup>299</sup> mentions him, though ignores some of his predecessors and Manchana makes him the son of Choda II<sup>300</sup> which is disproved by the inscriptions of Gonka III and Prithvisvara. Prithvisvara did not embark on expeditions of conquest but fought his enemies in defensive warfare.

### Prithvisvara and the Cholas

Kulottunga III was the Chola emperor. To quote Professor Sastri "the reign of Kulottunga is a remarkable example of the triumph of personal ability of the monarch against the forces of disruption that were steadily increasing in their number and the intensity of their action. . . though Kulottunga succeeded for the best part of the reign in enforcing Chola suzerainty over the Pandyan kingdom, it became clear that the end of his reign that the southern kingdom after its recovery from the effects of the civil strife, was being ruled by able and ambitious monarchs who were prepared not only to assert their independence of the Chola power, but embark in their turn on a career of aggressive warfare and territorial aggrandisement. We shall see that Kulottunga lived long enough to experience the first shock of the new born imperialism of the Pandyas. Elsewhere, the numerous feudatory dynasties were preparing to break off from the centre when opportunity occurred and some of them like the Siddharases of Nellore caused no end of anxiety to the emperor by their restless activity directed not seldom against the central power itself. All the energy and strength of Kulottunga was taken up in counteracting the machinations and undoing the mischief resulting from the actions of such over grown vassals. In spite of everything, however, until towards the close of the reign of Kulottunga, the Choda empire suffered

no visible curtailment. Kulottunga himself must be counted as the last of the great Chola monarchs.”<sup>301</sup>

Prithvisvara continued the traditional policy of loyalty of the Velanandus to the Cholas. This is evident from his record at Draksharama dated in the 31st year of Rajadhiraja<sup>302</sup> i.e. Kulottunga III. As the 1st year corresponds to A.D. 1209, it further indicates Prithvisvara's loyalty throughout his reign.

### **Prithvisvara and the Western Chalukyas**

Somesvara IV, the last of the Chalukyas of Kalyani ruled till A.D. 1189. Prithvisvara does not seem to have come into conflict with him or his feudatories.

### **Prithvisvara and the Kakatiyas**

The Kakatiya rulers at the time were Rudradeva up to A.D. 1195, Mahadeva from A.D. 1195 to 1198 and Ganapati deva, son of Mahadeva by Bayyambika from A.D. 1198 to 1261. Ganapati was the greatest of the Kakatiyas. As Professor Sastri puts it “it was under Ganapati, however, that the sway of the Kakatiyas first attained its widest expansion and their armies carried the limits of the empire though only for a time, as far as Kanchipuram and beyond.”<sup>303</sup> Ganapati invaded the Velanandu country in A.D. 1201, suffered defeat in Prithvisvara's hands. He led another invasion into Velanandu territory after Prithvisvara's death about A.D. 1212 and subjugated it.

After Rudradeva's inscription dated 1186 A.D. the earliest Kakatiya inscription of Draksharama, is dated A.D. 1212<sup>304</sup> in Ganapati's reign. But Ganapati's inscription at Bezwada with date A.D. 1201<sup>305</sup> no doubt signifies his march into the Velanandu kingdom. In the light of the provenance of Prithvisvara's inscriptions<sup>306</sup> after A.D. 1201, it must be conceded that Prithvisvara was successful in checking Ganapati's advance into his territory. No details about the battle as to where it took place, and the personnel of the opposing armies are not available. Probably the Velanandu armies were headed by Prithvisvara and his nephew Gonka, and the Kakatiya armies by Ganapati and princess Rudrama. As it was not a

victory for the Kakatiyas it follows that the victorious expedition of Ganapati into Velanandu described in the Ganapesvaram inscription does not refer to this invasion of A.D. 1201<sup>307</sup> and so to say that 'we know that the Velanandu country was conquered and annexed to the Kakatiya dominions by Ganapati between s 1121 (A.D. 1199) and s 1123 (1201 A.D.)<sup>308</sup> falls to ground. Thus Prithvisvara warded off Ganapati's expedition into his kingdom and probably had not to face any more Kakatiya invasions for the rest of his reign.

### **Prithvisvara and the Kona Haihayas**

Mallideva and Manmasetya II were ruling together Konamandala. Prithvisvara was their suzerain as is obvious from the insertion of two verses in praise of a Jayamahadevi, mother of Prithvisvara, in the Kona Haihaya pillar inscription of Prithvisvara<sup>309</sup> (A.D. 1165). The Velanandu overlordship gains further support from Prithvisvara's inscriptions at Vizagapatam and Draksharama dated A.D. 1199 and 1210 respectively.

### **Prithvisvara and the Telugu Chodas**

Nallsiddha CM, M.P.C. Rajagandagopala alias Ranganatha and Errasiddha and Tammu siddha of the Nellore branch of the Telugu Cholas were the contemporaries of Prithvisvara. Until the reign of Prithvisvara, the Velanandu Chodas and the Telugu Chodas had friendly political relation owing common allegiance to the imperial Cholas. But not seldom that Prithvisvara had to face the enmity of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, and oppose their armies invading his kingdom. Fighting till the end, Prithvisvara met his untimely death in the hands of the Telugu Cholas in A.D. 1210.

Gandagopala, son of Mammāsiddha I and Sridevi, had the title-the sole hero of the world who cut off the head of Prithvisvara.<sup>310</sup> He is identical with Chodatikka I who ruled from A.D. 1209 to 1250-51. Ballaya, also a Telugu Chola prince, called himself Prithvisvara Sirahkanukakridavinoda.<sup>311</sup> As Prithvisvara was alive in A.D. 1210 the battle between him and the Telugu Cholas must have been fought in that year. The Velanandus were vanquished, their king let his life and the Telugu Chodas were victorious. This victory does not seem to

have added any fresh tracts to the Telugu Choda kingdom though it paralysed the Velanandu kingdom consequent on Prithvisvara's death.

### **Prithvisvara and other dynasties**

The members of the Ayya family must have continued in the service of Prithvisvara. Vishnuvardhana of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, ruling in A.D. 1201, probably owed allegiance to Prithvisvara.

The Kondapadumatis and the Palnad Haihayas with whom the Velanandus had friendly relations in previous years must have remained on analogous terms in Prithvisvara's reign also. And these and other local rulers with their armies must have helped Prithvisvara in fighting his enemies, in defence of his kingdom and in warding off foreign invasions though destiny was against him and in favour of the disappearance of the kingdom within a few years after his death.

### **End of the Velanandu dynasty**

Inscriptions and recorded tradition<sup>312</sup> attest Ganapati's conquest of the Velanandu country about 1211-1212 soon after Prithvisvara's death. Ganapati had been driving towards that end even in Prithvisvara's reign. He made friends with the Kota and Natavadi chiefs, cemented by marriage alliances. Probably to suggest that after his failure in A.D. 1201, he influenced and rendered assistance indirectly to the Telugu Chodas under Tikka I and Ballaya in their aggressive warfare directed against Prithvisvara may not be far from the truth. Ganapati's Ganapesvaram inscription<sup>313</sup> describes his conquest of Velanandu and its results. It says that Ganapati, the vanquisher of the kings of Chola, Kalinga, Sevuna, Karnata and Lata ruling over the country between the southern ocean and the Vindhya, made the whole country of Velanandu subject to himself and carried off his city, men, women, elephants, horses and various kinds of precious stones seized by him in the Velanandu country. He conquered the dvipa is dividles at the mouth of the Krishna, made Jaya of his general and married his two sisters. From the inscriptions of Jaya and Ganapati at Chebrole<sup>314</sup> (A.D. 1213) and Tsandavole<sup>315</sup>

it is clear that Ganapati conferred on Jaya the necessary insignia of his office ; and thus Ganapati settled the conquered country by making Jaya his viceroy or representative. Such is the end of the defects independence of the Velanandu kingdom owing to loyalty to imperial Cholas. Among the later Velanandu princes ruling small principalities in the Velanandu country, some were dependent on Jaya and owed allegiance to Ganapati of the Kakatiyas and some were loyal to Rajaraja III of the Cholas.

#### LATER VELANANDU CHODAS—SUCCESSORS OF PRITHVISVARA A.D. 1210—1343

The main line of the Velanandu dynasty ended with Prithvisvara and no sons or direct successors of his are heard of. But some later chieftains bearing Velanandu names, titles and prasartis are found exercising local sway over various parts of Andradesa, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Cholas, the Kakatiyas and the Reddis. The earliest and latest dates from inscriptions for these chiefs were A.D. 1210 to 1343 respectively. Some of the rulers were related to Prithvisvara of the main line.

The earliest Choda chieftain of Velanandu extraction after Prithvisvara was *Manmagonka* ruling in Bapatla in A.D. 1210.<sup>316</sup> He was the nephew of Prithvisvara as his mother Akkamahodevi, was the sister of Prithvi gonka.

A Velanandu *Sagi Dorayaraja* is heard of from an inscription at Yenamalakuduru dated A.D. 1215.<sup>317</sup> This is no doubt a Chagi chief prefixing Velanandu to his name.

A *Velananti choda* is mentioned in a record from Peddapulivarnu.<sup>318</sup> He is stated to have presented rich spoils of war to Bhimesvara at Draksharama. His father whose name and exploits are lost in the damaged portion of the record, appears to have ruled over the *Fifty Lakh Andhra country*. The record is dated A.D. 1229 and the expression Ganapati kshitisa samsevya occurs with reference to the donor.<sup>319</sup> Hence it becomes clear that Velananti choda was a subordinate of Ganapati. Another record of this choda is from Draksharama bearing the date 1237 A.D.<sup>320</sup> A Kulothunga Rajendra

Chodayarajulu is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1242 from Draksharama.<sup>321</sup> From the names of the two chiefs and the dates, Velananti Choda may be identified with Kulothunga-rajendrachodyasrajulu tentatively. Accepting this it may be concluded that after Prithvisvara's death, the father of Velananti Choda and afterwards Velananti choda himself ruled the territory from Bapatla to Draksharama subject to Kakatiya suzerainty from A.D. 1210 to 1242 A.D.

A *Velanandu Rajendra Choda* is known from a record at Tripurantakam dated 1149 A.D.<sup>322</sup> His identification with Prithvisvara is wrong. He may be identified with Rajendra Chola of inscriptions mentioned above in which case his rule will be lengthened by seven years from A.D. 1284 to A.D. 1149.

We hear of a *Kulottunga Chodagonkaraju* in 1253 A.D. and afterwards. From two records of that year at Draksharama, a relative of Gonka is heard of and Pandanayaka,<sup>323</sup> uncle of Kulottunga Chola from another. This Kulottunga Chola is identified with either Gonka of the earlier records or Rajendra Chola of A.D. 1249. Kulottunga Rajendra Chodayaraja figuring in a Draksharama inscription of A.D. 1270.<sup>324</sup> Perhaps, he is identical with Rajendra Chola of above records.

From an inscription at Tiruttant,<sup>325</sup> mahamandalesvara *Timvengalantha rajadeva cholamaharaja of Velanandu* is known. The record has no date. Tiruvengalanatha is a chieftain of the Velanandu descent whose ancestors must have settled in these part of Telugu land.

A *Kulottunga Choda Gonkaraja* is heard of from a record at Draksharama dated A.D. 1255.<sup>326</sup> It mentions his minister Kandravadi Morampudi Dotinayaka. The earliest date for this Gonkaraja is 1239 and 2nd year<sup>327</sup> of Kulothunga choda deva mentioned in two inscriptions<sup>328</sup> at Draksharama. In these inscriptions he is called mahamandalesvara Kulothunga Chola gangeya gonkaraju and was subordinate to Rajaraja II whose 23rd year corresponds to A.D. 1239.

Mallela Hemadri reddi, a subordinate of Ganapati had the titles-Kakati Ganapatidevadivya sripadapadmardhaka, and

Kulothungarayarajendra Chodagankadisapatta. These are mentioned in his Draksharama inscription.<sup>329</sup> Kalapanayadu, another subordinate of Ganapati in a record at Inumella dated 1256 bore the epithet Velananti Kulothunga Rajendra Chodanisteraka.<sup>330</sup> These epithets of the Kakatiya subordinates referring to the Velanandu chieftains perhaps shows that the Velanandu Chodas-the gonkas and the Chodas had no faith in Kakatiya suzerainty as they had in that of the imperial Cholas, and made time and again unsuccessful attempts to shake off the Kakatiya yoke. So a Velananti Conka was vanquished by Komadri in 1237 A.D. and a Rajendra Choda by Kulpanayadu in A.D. 1234. As late as 1255, a Chodagonka owed loyalty to Rajaraja III of the Cholas.

After A.D. 1270 the Velanandus are heard of again in A.D. 1343. For an inscription at Talagadadivi<sup>331</sup> mentions a Velanandu chodayanadu. As almost the entire Andhra Country came under the sway of the Reddi dynasty of Kondavidu by this time, the Velanandu chief must have owed allegiance to the celebrated Vema, the first ruler of the Reddi dynasty.

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## CHAPTER TWO

# The Haihayas

The Haihayas ruled over different parts of India-North as well as South at different times. An ancient race finding mention in Anusasana parva of Mahabharata and Harivamsa, the Haihayas distinguished themselves in the map of India—political and cultural—right up to the Maratha conquest in the north and the close of the 15th Century A.D. in the South. The Haihayas of Mahakosala, the Kolachuri Haihayas of Chedi with capital at Tripuri, the Kalachuris of Kalyani, the Malaiyamans in the District of South Arcot,<sup>1</sup> the Haihayas of Kona, of Panchodharala, of Nizam's dominions and of palnad were the important Haihaya kingdoms in Medieval India. Besides there were some Haihaya princes connected with the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, and the Gangas of Kalinga and the many subsidiary dynasties in Vengi. The common bonds between all the Haihayas were chiefly descent from Sahasrarjuna and lordship over Mahishmati.

### **The Haihayas of Konamandala A.D 1073—1364**

The Kona Haihayas held sway over Konamandala—the Godavari deltaic area—for over three centuries—from the 11th to the 14th century A.D. They were never a great power and their sporadic attempts at aggrandisement and expansion met but with temporary success in the midst of powerful kingdoms—the Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas, the Cholas and the Velanandu Chodas. Joint rule was a regular feature of the dynasty and not less than few generations of rulers ruled Konamandala. The

Kona Haihayas owed allegiance to the Cholas and their representatives, the Velanandu Chodas throughout, though occasionally they were compelled to acknowledge Chalukya and Kakatiya suzerainty.

### **The political contains of South Indian and Vengi in the 11th century**

In the second half of the 11th century A.D. South India was divided between the Gangas in the east, the Chalukyas in the north and the Cholas in the south. The Ganga rulers were Vajrahasta V (A.D. 1038-1070) Devendravarman Rajaraja I (A.D. 1070-1078) and Anantavarman Choda Ganga (A.D. 1078-1146); and the Chalukyas of Kalyani were Somesvara I (A.D. 1042-1068), Somesvara II (1068-1076 A.D.) and Vikramaditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126). The Chola and Chalukya Kingdoms were united in A.D. 1070 when Rajendra II of the Chalukyas of Vengi, succeeded to the Chola throne on the death of Adhirajendra I, under the name of Kulottunga I.

With Kulottunga's accession, *Vengi* was naturally included in the Chola empire and remained an important viceroyalty throughout his reign. While Kulottunga was busy in the south, the kingdom of Vengi was invaded by Yasah Karnadeva of the Haihayas of Tripuri and Vijayaditya VII was defeated by him. On the death of Vijayaditya after ruling for fifteen years, Kulottunga appointed his own sons one after another as Viceroys of Vengi-Rajaraja Mummadi Choda (A.D. 1076-1077) Virachoda (1078-1088), Rajarajachoda Ganga (1084-1089), Virachoda for second time (1089-1093) and Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1093-1118)

### **Origin and rise of the dynasity**

According to the Pithapur Pillar inscription of Mallideva and Manmasatya II,<sup>2</sup> in the race of Yadu was born to Lord Hari a king named *Haihaya*. To Haihaya was born *Kritavirya* to whom was born *Kartavirya*. *Arjuna Kartavirya* and his capital Mahishmati are mentioned in many records of the Kona Haihaya dynasty and the two epithets, mentioning them formed part of the prasasti of the Kona Haihayas.

The earliest historical person of the Kona dynasty was *Kirtiraja* of Haihayavamsa.<sup>3</sup> The Pithapur pillar inscription

does not mention him and his relationship to Sahasrajuna is not known. Kirtiraja's only inscription is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1073 and the 13th year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana maharaja<sup>4</sup> Rakuduni prefixed to Kirtiraja's name and Kirtiraja's queen (mahishi) was Rekidevi. From the inscription it is evident that Kirtiraja owed allegiance to the Chola throne. For vishnuvardhana, undoubtedly refers to Kulottunga I mentioned by his Eastern Chalukya name and epithets : and 13th year must be taken to be an error for the 3rd year which corresponds to A.D. 1373.<sup>5</sup> The mention of Tribhuvanamkusa measure at the end of the record supports Kirtiraja's loyalty to Kulottunga I. Perhaps Kirtiraja's came with Yasahkorna of Tripuri by A.D. 1072-73 and stayed back in Vengi. He appears to have been a general and chieftain of some importance like Gonka I serving Kulottunga by A.D. 1073. Probably Kulottunga conferred on him a small principality round about Rakuduru as a record for his services and this explains Rekame being called a mahishi. Probably Rakuduru was his capital.

The next Kona Haihaya ruler and the first after Kartaivivya, according to the Pithapur pillar inscription was *Mummadi Bhima I*, Mummadi Bhima I's relationship to Kirtiraja is not known. His only record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1082 and C.V. 6<sup>6</sup> in which he is mentioned as Kona Mummadi raju. Mummadi Bhima received the insignia of sovereignty from Rajadhiraja Rajendra choda and became the lord of Vengi<sup>7</sup>. The date of this conferment is not specified anywhere. Rajendra Choda II is Kulottunga I and the conferment must have taken place after A.D. 1073 the date of Kirtiraja and before A.D. 1082—the year by which Mummadi Bhima acknowledged Western Chalukyan suzerainty. Consequently the statement that the conferment took place about A.D. 1038<sup>8</sup> becomes worthless for it is not based on any evidence and Rajendra II need not have made this confirmation in the year of his accession to the Chalukya throne in A.D. 1063.

By A.D. 1082 Mummadi Bhima of Draksharama<sup>9</sup> recognised Chalukyan suzerainty under Vikramaditya VI. Mummadi Bhima, as the saka and Vikrama years show was one of the

their lord Vikramaditya were awaiting to overthrow the Chalukyan sway in Vengi. The opportunity came when Vikramaditya died in A.D. 1126. And soon after "the restoration of Chola supremacy in the North"<sup>17</sup> was affected. Undoubtedly in bringing about this desired result, Rajendra Choda I must have assisted the Cholas in fighting Somesvara III and his generals in Vengi and acquired the above mentioned titles indicating his valour and consequent defeat of the enemies. So Rajendra Choda I by A.D. 1128<sup>18</sup> by fighting on the side of the Cholas had some successes over the Chalukyas alike Velananti Choda I and other minor rulers in Vengi.

### **Rajendra Choda I and the Cholas**

Rajendra Choda was loyal to the Cholas as his name itself shows for he was named after Rajendra Kulottunga, the suzerain of his grandfather Mummadi Bhima I. As seen above, Rajendra Choda had a share in preparing the ground for the departure of the Chalukyas and the gradual restoration of the Chola power in Vengi.

### **MUMMADI BHIMA II AND SATYA I A.D. 1135—1150**

Till the end of the reign of Rajendra Choda I, the Kona Haihayas kingdom did not experience dual kingship. With the accession of Bhima II and Satya, it launched on a career of joint rule which was to continue for a period of not less than four generations. Once again, in the succession of Bhima II and Satya, we see that the claims of the five sons of Rajendra Choda I, the first two being Beta and Mallideva<sup>19</sup> were set aside, in favour of the brothers of Rajendra Choda I. Probably the political condition at the time necessitated conjoint rule of Bhima and Satya in Konamandala in the interests of self defence and preservation.

Mummadi Bhima II and Satya were both strong rulers. Mummadi raja's mentioned thus in his records, inscription<sup>20</sup> is from Draksharama dated 1135 A.D. and C.V. year 60. He is spoken of as the moon to the ocean. i.e. Haihayavamsa. Satya's earliest record<sup>21</sup> is from Draksharama, bearing the same

date as the above. He is mentioned as Sattiraju, and lord of Konamandala. So A.D. 1135 was the initial year of the rule of Bhima and Satya which they began by recognising Chalukyan supremacy. Their rule lasted for 15 years-up to A.D. 1150 when they were succeeded by Lokabhupale and Bhima III. No inscriptions of Mummadi Bhima II after A.D. 1135 are known and his son is mentioned with regal titles in A.D. 1150<sup>22</sup> which must be considered to be the end of Bhima's rule. As for Satya I, two of his records<sup>23</sup> dated A.D. 1150 are from Draksharama. In one of them, the king's name is lost and both are dated in the 17th regnal year of Kulottunga chodadeva. i.e. Kulottunga II. Thus Bhima and Satya ended their rule as the subordinates of the Cholas.

### Their Political Relations

Mummadi bore the titles—Konakshmadhisvara, mahihmativallabha, and was of Atreya gotra<sup>24</sup> and Satya had the epithets-mahihmatipuravaresvara, and sahasra bahupratapavirasnmpannulaina and mahamandalesvara.<sup>25</sup> These titles and the Pithapur pillar inscription saying that Mannadi Bhima and Satya burnt their enemies by their valour attest the capacities of the two rulers in their wars. Bhima and Satya had dealings with the Cholas, the Chalukyas, of Kalyani, the local Chalukyas, the Velanandu Chodas and others.

### Bhima and Satya and the Cholas

Kulottunga II, son and successor of Vikramachola, was the Chola emperor in this period (A.D. 1133-1150). His reign was a period of peace, good government and prosperity.”

Bhima and Satya, deviated from the hereditary loyalty of the Kona Haihayas to the Cholas, in the beginning of their reign as their inscriptions at Draksharama were dated in C.V. era—60th year. This reflects the prevailing political condition of Vengi. Though the Chola supremacy was restored in the southern half of Vengi soon after Vikramaditya VI's death by A.D. 1127 and the evidence from inscriptions bearing Chola regnal years is plentiful. Still the restoration of the Chola supremacy in the northern half was delayed by not less than a

dozen years A.D. 1139 inspite of the best efforts of the Cholas and their subordinate rulers in the areas. The records up to A.D. 1130 dated in chola regnal years were all from other parts of Vengi<sup>26</sup> and none from Draksharama. This shows the unavoidable subordination of the Kona to the Chalukyas in A.D. 1135.

Kulottunga II and Volānanti Gonka II-the chola and the Velanandu choda rulers-continued the efforts of Vikramachola and choda I respectively to restore chola powers in northern Vengi and end Chalukyan away. It is not unlikely that Bhima and Satya joined and assisted them in this task. By A.D. 1139 the Cholas and their partisans crushed the Chalukya power in Vengi by vanquishing them on the Godavari and plundering their camp<sup>27</sup>. This success of the Cholas signalled the end of the Chalukyas in Vengi, the completion of restoration of the chola power and the inscriptions after A.D. 1138, of feudatory rulers and dated in chola regnal years attest this and the Kona Haihayas proved their loyalty to Kulottunga II by dating their last records A.D. 1150 from Draksharama in the 17th regnal year of the emperor.<sup>28</sup>

### **Bhima and Satya and the Chalukyas**

Somesvara III up to A.D. 1139 and Jagadekamalla II from A.D. 1139 ruled the Western Chalukyan kingdom with capital at Kalyani. Somesvara enjoyed the glory of possessing an extended empire which was the result of the efforts of Vikramaditya VI. But almost at the beginning of his reign he lost the southern half of Vengi to the Imperial Cholas who wrested their territories by constant fighting and consequent success.

Bhima II and Satya I do not mention Somesvara's name though dated their inscriptions at Draksharama in C.V. era 60 and A.D. 1135. None of their records after that date mention the C.V. era, and towards the close, they become Chola subordinates. Hence after A.D. 1135, the Kona rulers joined the side of Kulottunga II, the Velanandus and others and assisted them in liberating Vengi from the Chalukyan yoke,

which was achieved by A.D. 1139. The Kona inscriptions are dated in the earliest and the latest years of Vikrama era at Draksharama the 6th and the 60th year. The Chalukyan power was at its Zenith between the C.V. 45 and 48 and after the 60th year, no records dated in C.V. era are known in Vengi. Thus Bhima and Satya were the last among the Kona Haihayas to one allegiance the Chalukyas.

### **Bhima and Satya and other rulers**

The Kona Haihayas and the Velanandus were on friendly terms in this period Bhima and Satya and Gonka joined hands in defeating the common enemy the Chalukyas or Kalyani.

The Konas contracted marriage alliances with the Chalukyas, a local dynasty in Vengi. For Knon Mummedi married Rajadevi, the daughter of Rajaditya aliyas Rayabhupa of the Chalukyan lineage.<sup>29</sup> This measure would have strengthened the Kona Haihaya kingdom.

### **LOKHABHUPALA AND BHIMA III A.D. 1150-1178**

Mummadi Bhima II had a son Rajendra Kona Lokanad<sup>30</sup> Satya I had two sons—Rajaparendu II and Bhima III<sup>31</sup>. Of the three brothers, the first and the last succeeded their fathers as joint rulers of the Kona kingdom. However, claims of Rajaparendu II, the elder brother of Bhima III were overlooked. Loka and Bhima ruled jointly for eighteen years. and in A.D. 1168 Bhima died and was succeeded by Mallideva.

Loka and Bhima were the greatest of the Kona Haihaya dynasty. They owed loyalty to the Cholas and started on a career of conquest and annexation and attempted to throw off allegiance to the Velanandus. But they did not assess correctly the strength of the enemy and the prevalent political situation before they decided on aggression. So they failed disastrously and consequently for the rest of the duration of the Kona kingdom, the Haihayas never made attempts at liberation and extension.

The earliest record<sup>32</sup> of Lokabhupala is from Draksharama

dated A.D. 1135 and the 10th year of C.V. era which is a mistake for 60th year. The record was issued before Loka assumed the sceptre and he had fifteen years of experience in the arts of war and peace when he became the ruler in A.D. 1150, Lonka's earliest record<sup>33</sup> after he became ruler in the reign of Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajaraja deva is from Bapatla dated A.D. 1150 and the 4th year of Rajaraja II. In the record Loka is mentioned as Rajendra Kona Lokaraja. The record at Drakaharama,<sup>34</sup> dated A.D. 1153 and the 9th year of Rajaraja II belongs to Bhima III. The last date for Loka is A.D. 1175 from a Velanandu inscription of that year of Choda II. Bhima's last inscription bears the date A.D. 1168 and is at Draksharama. The only Kona record at Bapatla probably indicates Loka's westward expansion.

### **Loka and Bhima III and their political relations**

In their political career Loka and Bhima III came into touch with the Cholas, the Chalukyas, the Velanandus and other local powers. Loka lost his life in his attempts to extend the Kona kingdom unwisely when the time was not propitious for it.

### **Loka and Bhima and the Cholas**

Rajaraja was the Chola emperor A.D. (1150-1163). His suzerainty in the Telugu country is attested by his inscriptions in Vengi country up to Draksharama.

Loka and Bhima began their rule by acknowledging Rajaraja's overlordship in their inscriptions dated A.D. 1150-1153 in the 4th and 9th regnal years of the emperor from Bapatla and Draksharama respectively.

### **Loka and Bhima and the Chalukyas**

Jagadekamalla II was succeeded by Taila III and Taila III by Jagadekamalla III. The Kalachurya usurpation was complete by A.D. 1163 and Bijjala and his sons ruled till A.D. 1184.

Loka and Bhima do not appear to have come into conflict

with the Chalukyas of Kalyani or the Kalachuris who were also of Haihaya descent.

### **Loka and Bhima and the Velanandu chodas**

Gonka II and Choda II were the rulers at Tsandavole. The location of Loka's inscription at Bopatla<sup>35</sup> with date A.D. 1150 probably indicates his advance so far. Though there is no evidence of his having come into conflict with Gonka II, it is probable that he was checked by Gonka II and his armies, and this accounts for his not embarking on any conquests into Velanandu territory, so long as Gonka lived.

Soon after Gonka's death Loka seems to have started out an aggressive warfare into the Velanandu kingdom and attempted to throw off allegiance to Choda II. This venture on Loka's part cost him his life in the end. For Choda II sent a punitive expedition into the Kona territory under Devanapregadda in A.D. 1164 and 1165<sup>36</sup> which was a success for the Velanandus. Konamandala was subjugated and consequently Loka and Bhima continued their loyalty to the Velanandus. Loka made another attempt to throw off the Velanandu yoke some time about A.D. 1175. Thus Loka brought on himself and the kingdom the wrath of the Velanandus. For Prolayanayaka, a subordinate of Choda II claimed to have killed Kona Loka<sup>37</sup> obviously Lokabhupala.

Thus in this period the Kona rulers-especially Loka bhupala harassed the Velanandu kingdom frequently and were subdued thoroughly by A.D. 1175 as a result of two Velanandu expeditions in A.D. 1165 and 1175 respectively. Much fighting would have taken place between the Konas and the Velanandu chodas, though no information bearing on the matter is available.

### **Loka and Bhima and other rulers**

The Konas and the Chalukyas were perhaps on friendly terms in this period. Perhaps Loka contracted alliances with small powers-like the many branches of the Chalukyas in Vengi, the Kolanus, the Haihayas of Palnad and Panchadharala prior to his opposition to the Velanandus.

**MALLIDEVA AND VALLABHA A.D. 1175-1182**

No sons of Loka and Bhima are known. On Bhima III's death in A.D. 1168, Vallabha, son of Rajaparendu II, the elder brother of Bhima III by Parvati succeeded to the throne and ruled jointly with Loka till 1175 A.D. and on Loka's death in that year, his place was taken by Mallideva second son of Rajendra Choda I. Mallideva and Vallabha ruled jointly till A.D. 1182 when Vallabha—after reigning for fourteen years died<sup>38</sup> and was succeeded by Manmasatya II.

No inscriptions of the period of rule of Loka and Vallabha—A.D. 1168 to 1175 have come to light. Undoubtedly Loka and Vallabha acted together in their wars of aggression and defence which as pointed out already resulted in the death of Loka and subjugation of the kingdom by the Velanandus. These seven years till A.D. 1175 mark the last phase of Loka's rule and the first half of Vallabha's reign. No inscriptions of Vallabha are known and he was overshadowed by Lokabhupala.

Mallideva joined Vallabha in A.D. 1175. His earliest record is dated 1135 from Draksharama<sup>39</sup> wherein he is mentioned as Kona Malleraja. No inscriptions of his while ruling with Vallabha are available. Mallideva and Vallabha enjoyed a peaceful reign as the Pithapur pillar inscription says that they ruled earth undisturbed.<sup>40</sup> Vallabha's sons by Achamamba were Manmasatya II and Mahipalarendu.<sup>41</sup>

**Their Political Relations**

Mallideva and Vallabha from the experience of Loka must have learnt the futility of aggressive warfare and preferred a reign of peace. They contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers. For the first time in this period, we hear of the Undi principality and its ruler Kama. Located in the west Godavari District, the Undi principality and its rulers played an important role in the politics of the Telugu country in the 14th Century A.D. helping Annadeva of the Telugu Chodas against the Reddis.<sup>42</sup> Probably this Undi prince Kama was a precursor of the later chiefs and his alliance was sought by the Kona Haihayas, for Achamamba, queen of Vallabha, was the daughter of Kama.

The Chola emperors in this period were Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III and the Velanandu ruler was Choda II. Mallideva and Vallabha must have continued their loyalty to the Cholas and the Velanandu Chodas which must have contributed for their enjoyment of a peaceful reign.

### **MALLIDEVA AND MANMASATYA II A.D. 1182-1231**

Mallideva and Manmasatya II exercised joint sway for a long period of nearly fifty years. In the succession of Manmasatya II to the throne for the first time in Kona Haihayas history, we see the eldest son succeeding his father. Mallideva and Manmasatya II owed allegiance to the Chola monarch and the Velanandu Chodas and had a peaceful and prosperous reign.

The earliest inscription of the reign is the Pithapur pillar record dated A.D. 1195. In this, the two rulers jointly called together people of Guddavadi to make a grant. It traces the Eastern Chalukya genealogy up to Mangiyuvarja, mentions Rajaraja and praises Jayamahadevi, mother of Prithvisvara of Velanandu Chodas. Two records of Satya II one dated A.D. 1207<sup>43</sup> and another undated <sup>44</sup>are from Palakol and Draksharama respectively. After A.D. 1207, for the rest of the reign, no records are available till A.D. 1231 when Mallideva and Satya were succeeded by Mallideva II and Bhima IV.

### **Their Political Relations**

Mallideva and Satya followed their predecessors in preferring the blessings of peace for the glory of war. So they had no hostilities towards any of the contemporary rulers.

### **Mallideva and Satya and the Cholas**

The Chola emperors in this period were Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216) and Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1246). The Pithapur pillar inscription<sup>45</sup> traces the Chalukya Chola genealogy up to Rajaraja III, which is a positive proof of the Kona Haihaya subordination to the Chola emperor in A.D. 1195. And this position continued for the rest of the reign of Mallideva and Satya.

### **Mallideva and Satya and the Velanandu Chodas**

At Tsandavole Gonka III and Prithvisvara exercised sway in this period. After the subjugation in A.D. 1175 and Loka's death, the Konahaihayas remained subservient to the Velanandu Chodas. Mallideva and Satya continued their loyalty as attested by the inclusion of two verses in praise of Jayamahadevi in their Pithapur pillar inscription. It is likely that the Kona Haihayas helped the Velanandus in their wars against the Kakatiyas, the Telugu Chodas and the Kalachuris in this period.

### **MALLIDEVA II AND BHIMA IV A.D. 1231-1254.**

Mallideva II was the son of Manmachoda II who was the elder son of Beta, the elder brother of Mallideva and Gangadevi.<sup>46</sup> Bhimaraja IV was the son of Manmasatya II. Mallideva II and Bhima IV ruled conjointly for a period of twenty-three years. They were loyal to the Cholas. They seem to have had a peaceful region at the end of which were succeeded by Ganapati and Bhimavallabha.

The earliest inscriptions of the reign are dated A.D. 1231 at Draksharama. According to one record,<sup>47</sup> Mallideva was a mahamandalesvara and son of Kona Rajendra Manmachodayaraju bearing the sahasrabahu prasasti. Bhimaraja figures in another record of A.D. 1231 at Draksharama.<sup>48</sup> Kona Mallayadevaraja, figuring in a Draksharama inscription<sup>49</sup> dated A.D. 1254 and the 38th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajarajadeva is undoubtedly identical with Mallideva II. Mallideva II and Bhima IV never attempted at extending the kingdom which retained its usual extent in this period.

### **Their Political Relations**

Mallideva II and Bhima IV maintained amicable relations with the contemporary rulers and do not seem to have come into contact with the Kakatiyas in this period.

The Chola emperors were Rajaraja III and Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1274). The Kona Haihaya loyalty to them is attested by the inscription of Mallideva at Draksharama dated A.D. 1254 and the 38th regnal year of Rajaraja III.<sup>50</sup>

In this period, the Velanandu chodas were a decaying power. The Chalukyas were replaced by the Hoysalas. The Kakatiyas under Ganapati were expanding their power in Vengi and the south. Ganapati contracted alliances of marriage with many local powers in the southern half of Vengi and his inscriptions in Kistna and Guntur Districts attest his power. But he did not intrude into the northern half of Vengi and so the Kona Haihayas were spared from his invasions in this period

### **Ganapati and Bhimavallabha A.D. 1254-1300**

Ganapati and Bhimavallabha were the last set of the joint rulers of the Kona Haihaya kingdom and appear to have been the successors of Mallideva IX and Bhima IV and not Mallideva I and Manmasehya II as has been supposed by the Epigraphist. Ganapati was the son of Bhimavallabha by Anyamamba. Bhimavallabha is stated to have been the son of Rajaparendu and grandson of Gandavendara entitled the lord of Mahishmati.<sup>51</sup> Most probably Ganapati is identical with Ganapati, son of Mahipalarendu and grandson of Vallabha as Rajaparendu and Mahipalarendu are synonymous<sup>52</sup> expressions meaning the lord of kings, and if this is accepted Gandavendara becomes a title of Vallabha. Thus Bhimavallabha and Ganapati were father and son and ruled, for forty-six years, together.

Their inscriptions appear in a continuous series from 1261 A.D. to 1300; and both father and son are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions of other dynasties.<sup>53</sup> One inscription from Palakol dated A.D. 1261 mentions Bhimavallabha and his wife Anyamamba. Another record dated A.D. 1262 from Draksharama mentions Ganapatideva maharaja and his mother Anyamadevi. Ganapati is spoken of as a possessor of great valour and promises to whom all other kings bowed and his father is mentioned as Konavanipati in a record dated A.D. 1275 from Palakol.<sup>54</sup> Rajavrolu Mallinayaka, a subordinate of Ganapati figures in a Palakol inscription dated A.D. 1176. Ganapati's queen Pina Odeyamahadevi figures in Three records<sup>55</sup> from Palakol date A.D. 1286, 1290 and 1306—all at Palakol. Bhimavallabha and Ganapati seem to have ruled from Palakol and had a peaceful reign.

### Their Political Relations

Bhima and Ganapati did not acknowledge loyalty to the Cholas. Neither there is any reason to suppose their loyalty to the Kakatiyas. But they allied themselves with some local contemporary dynasties and this added to their strength. For instance, Bhima's wife Anyama<sup>56</sup> was the daughter of Indusekhara of the Chalukyas; and Ganapati's wife Odayamahadevi or Pina Odayamahadevi was the daughter of Mahadeva Chakravarti entitled Vishnu-Vardhana of the Chalukyas of Nidudaprolu *i.e.* Nidadavole.<sup>57</sup>

### Bhimavallabha and Ramanatha A.D. 1300-1318

Ganapati is not heard of after A.D. 1300 and Odayamahadevi does not mention him in her grant of A.D. 1306. An inscription at Palakol<sup>58</sup> dated A.D. 1318 mentions the sons of Ramanathadevara, son of Bhimavallabha. So probably on Ganapati's death in A.D. 1300, his younger brother Ramanathadeva joined his father Bhimavallabha in exercising sway over Konamandala. And after A.D. 1318 neither Bhima nor Ramanatha are heard of. So probably their rule ended in that year.

### Their Political Relations

It is likely that friendly relations between the Kona Haihayas and the Chalukyas of Nidadavole continued in this period. By this time, Kakatiya sway extended into the Godavari district, as attested from inscriptions. Prataparudra was the reigning Kakatiya ruler. None of the Kona Haihaya inscriptions came from Draksharama and were mostly confined to Palakol. Probably Bhima and Ramanatha acknowledged Prataparudra's suzerainty in this period.

### Bhimavallabha A.D. 1318-1364

This Bhima is heard of from a record at Palakola dated A.D. 1364. Probably he was the grandson of Ramanatha through one of his sons mentioned in a record<sup>59</sup> from Palakol with date A.D. 1318 and whose names are not given in the record. As has been suggested already<sup>60</sup>, he was probably

the successor of Bhimavallabha and Ramanatha. If so, his reign must have lasted for forty-six years.

### **His Political Relations**

In his time, Kakatiya power ended and the Reddis became their political successors. Vema and his son Anapota were the Reddi rulers, with capital at Kondavidu and their kingdom included the Godavari deltaic area. Probably Bhima owed allegiance to the Neddis in this period.

### **Other Kona Haihaya rulers**

A Mallanasaminayadu, son of Mahamandalesvara Kona Mummadi Bhimaraja is known from a record at Achanta dated A.D. 1152.<sup>61</sup> Another record there with date 1172 A.D. mentions Kona Mummadi Bhimaraju and his sons Sominayaka and Lokiraju.<sup>62</sup> Probably Mummadi Bhima of the two records is identical with Mummadi Bhima III and Lokiraju with Lokamahipala. If so Sominayaka may be identified with Mallanasaminayadu the latter being the corrupt form of the former and Mallana(ma) may be the name of his mother. A Somayaraja is mentioned in a record from Ganapavaram with date A.D. 1195.<sup>63</sup> If Sominayaka and Somayaraja are identical, must be he was a provincial governor under Bhima III and ruled over Ganapavaram and Achanta from about A.D. 1152 to 1195 for forty-three years till the period of Mallideva and Manmasatya II.

A Kona *Rajendra choda Vennachodaya* bearing the Kona Haihaya prasasti and his wife Nimmale Devi, daughter of Premkanti Virappa Reddi are mentioned in a record from Draksharama dated A.D. 1237.<sup>64</sup> Vennachoda's relationship to the main line is not known. A Kona Betaraja figures in a record from Kumaradevam dated A.D. 1247.<sup>65</sup>

### **End of the Kona Haihaya dynasty**

The last of the Kona Haihayas was Bhimavallabha. None of his descendants or successors are heard of. Probably the dynasty ended with him. By A.D. 1369, Konamandala became an integral part of the Reddi kingdom and twenty years thence, we find it forming a province of the Rajahmundry

Reddi kingdom under Kataya Vema ruled over by prince Anavota Reddi with his capital at Kshiraramah Palakol. Even before that date in A.D. 1384, during the time of king Anavota's successor Anavema, the king made some grants in Konasthala to Brahmins which is a positive indication of its having come under the Reddis. Konasthala must have formed a part of Konamandala of Haihaya times.

### THE HAIHAYAS OF PANCHADHARALA A.D. 1200—1403

The Haihayas of Panchadharala ruled as a defacto independent power during the 13th and 14th centuries over the Simhachalam and Panchadharala regions in South Kalinga. The dynasty consisted of five kings who called themselves lords of Mahishmati and claimed descent from Arjuna Kartavirya. The name Kona is refixed to the names of its rulers,<sup>66</sup> but the connection between these Haihayas and those of Konamandala is not known. Dr. Nobel prefers to call this "the second Kona dyansty."<sup>67</sup> In the midst of powerful kingdoms both in the north and in the south the Haihayas of Panchadharalsa, played a rather significant role in the history of south India for one and a half centuries. The political achievements of these rulers were remarkable and at one time their kingdom extended over the entire Madhyadesa from the Vindhya to the ocean *i.e.* Bay of Bengal.

### South India and Vengi in the 13th Century

Muslim rule in India became a permanent feature with the establishment of the Slave dynasty under Kutbbudin Ibeek in A.D. 1206 at Delhi. Gradually the independent Hindu kingdoms in the north were replaced by Muslim vicerealties owing nominal allegiance to the Sultanate of Delhi. South India was divided between the Gangas of Kalinga, the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Hoysalas, the Cholas and the Pandyas. Their rulers were Rajaraja III (1219-1235 A.D.), and Ananga Bhima (A.D. 1246-1260), Yadava Singana (1210-1247 A.D.) and Krishna (A.D. 1246-1260), Hoysala Ballah II (1173-1220 A.D.), Narasi II (1220-1235 A.D.), and Somesvara (A.D. 1234-1254), Chola Kulottunga (A.D. 1178-1216), Rajaraja III (1216-1246

A.D.) and Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1277) and Maravarman Sundara Pandya I and II<sup>68</sup> in their respective kingdoms.

In Vengi in this period, the chola suzerainty had declined. The Velanandu choda kingdom was in decadent stages. The Telugu chodas were powerful, and the Kakatiyas under Ganapati (A.D. 1198-1260) were making attempts to establish supremacy in the entire Telugu land. Southern Kalinga formed a part of the Kalingan empire and was ruled over by a cluster of small dynasties bearing South Indian names and tracing descent from dynasties in the south and owing nominal allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors.

### Rise of the Haihayas

The mythical part of the Kona Haihaya genealogy is as follows : From Vishnu's navel-lotus was born Brahma. Brahma's son was Marichi whose son was Kasyapa. Kasyapa's son was Bhanu and Bhanu's son was Manu and in Manuvamsa was born *Arjuna Kartavirya*.<sup>69</sup> In the race of Arjuna Kartivirya was born king Choda with whom begins the historical part of the Haihaya genealogy.

### CHODA I. A.D. 1242-1300

Choda I was the ruler of the Kona Haihaya kingdom of Panchadharala and it is not known how he came to be in possession of a kingdom. Probably he served the Ganga emperors and secured the kingdom as a reward, or taking advantage of the lack of control by the Gangas over southern Kalinga, carved out a kingdom for himself independent of the Ganga authority.

His inscription dated A.D. 1242 at Simhachalam<sup>70</sup> and the Panchadharala pillar inscription of Choda III<sup>71</sup> are the only material for Choda I's reign. In the former Choda is mentioned as Kona Chodaraju born in sahasrabahavama or Kartaviranvaya, belonging to Atrneya Gotra and a man of great prowess. The pillar record says that Choda I ruled over the country between the Vindhya and the ocean. Some of choda's titles were Mahishmatiadhipa, saubhadra, birudankarudra, Atreya Gotra gandavenda, and manniya Kshmapalamrigaven-takara.<sup>72</sup>

### Choda I's Political Career

In extending and consolidating his kingdom, as a result of aggressive warfare, Choda I came in to conflict with the chieftains of the hill tribes on the north and west of his kingdom—in the region forming the boundary of Kalinga and Bastar area beyond. Choda's title Manniyakshmapalamrigaventakara means hunter of the mrigas i.e. (here) manne chiefs.<sup>73</sup> Who exactly these Manne chiefs were the inscription does not specify. But no doubt they were the hill chiefs on the Kalingam border who gave no end of trouble from time to time to the Ganga emperors, the local rulers in south Kalinga and the rulers in Vengi by constant incursions into their kingdoms. So Choda I hunted them out of Kalinga which appears to have been an important achievement for it was on the results of this, his kingdom extended up to the Vindhya in the north and west.<sup>74</sup>

Probably Choda maintained friendly relations with other rulers in Kalinga—the Chalukyas, the Natsyas, the Silvansis and others. As for his relations with the Ganga emperors, it is not known what exactly the position was. Choda did not date his only record in Ganga era or regnal year of the Ganga emperors.

### UPENDRA I. A.D. 1300—1353

Upendra, son of Choda I by Mallamba succeeded his father about A.D. 1300. We do not know for certain when Choda's rule ended and Upendra's began. Upendra's reign was long and lasted up to A.D. 1353, the earliest date for his son and successor Choda II. None of Upendra's inscriptions are available and the Panchadharala pillar inscription gives few details about him.

#### A Peaceful Reign

Unlike his father, Upendra preferred the blessings of peace to the glories of war. He does not seem to have undertaken any expeditions of conquest, and Kalinga in this period was free from foreign invasions. The Manna chiefs as they were thoroughly subdued by Choda I do not

seem to have given any more trouble to Upendra. Upendra probably continued the policy of his father of maintaining friendly relations towards the other local rulers in south Kalinga and of silence towards the Ganga emperors. The pillar inscription says that Upendra ruled the inherited kingdom. Upendra was succeeded by his son Choda II<sup>75</sup> about A.D. 1350.

### CHODA II (A.D. 1350)

Choda II was more enterprising than his father. None of his inscription have come to light and the pillar record and the Muslim histories form the sources of information for this period. Choda is said to have vanquished his enemies and ruled over the country Madhyadesa given to him by his father.<sup>76</sup> Here Madhyadesa is the country between the Godavari and the Mahanadi and the Vindhya and the Ocean. Consequently the explanation that Madhyadesa, though generally refers to the country between the Ganges and the Yamuna, here "it apparently denotes the region lying between the two rivers Godavari and Krishna which in its natural condition bears a certain resemblance to the country between the Ganga and the Yamuna"<sup>77</sup> does not hold good. The political achievements of Choda are recorded thus. "But this was unique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultan of Pandua, and having by the strength of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilli, the king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkala and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods."<sup>78</sup>

#### Choda's political relations

His reign was eventful. He seems to have maintained friendly relations with other local rulers in southern Kalinga. Unlike his predecessors, Choda seems to have owed allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors Bhanudeva III, son of Narasimha III, and his son and successor Narasimha IV, the last of the Ganga emperors. The decline of the Ganga dynasty became marked by the beginning of Bhanudeva III's reign and Muslim invasions into Orissa were frequent in this period. In

Narasimha's reign<sup>79</sup> "Orissa continued to be the happy hunting ground of the neighbouring monarchs, specially the Mussalman kings."

The Pillar inscriptions says<sup>80</sup> that Choda II, after defeating the armies of Delhi on behalf of the Panduva Sultan, presented the spoils of war to the king of Orissa who is no other than Bhanudeva III. This must have happened in A.D. 1353—the year of Firoz Shah's invasion of Bengal.<sup>81</sup> Thus Choda was loyal to Bhanudeva III and Narasimha IV.

### **Choda and Bengal**

Bengal was a Muslim viceroyalty under the Sultan of Delhi till the middle of the 14th Century A D Fakriddin Sultan Sikhandar was considered to be the first Sultan of Bengal and his reign lasted from A.D. 1340-41 to 1342-43. His successor was Ilias Khaji Sultan Shamsuddin Bhengara, who ruled from A.D. 1343 to 1358. He invaded the dominions of the Raja of Jajnagur and compelled him to pay tribute and some elephants. In A.D. 1353, when Firoz Shah invaded Bengal, Haji Ilias left his son to defend the capital Pandua and laid siege to Akdala.<sup>82</sup> Firoz Tughlak took Pandua and laid seige to Akdala. The siege was protracted. "The rainy season soon came on with great violence, peace was concluded and the king returned to Delhi without effecting his effects."<sup>83</sup> From this it is clear that Firoz did not succeed in subduing Ilias and Bengal. This gains support from the Panchadharala inscription which says that Choda II set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultan identical with Haji Ilian and killed the armies of the ruler of Delhi. Thus Choda and his armies were powerful enough to protect the kingdom of Bengal against Firoz Shah Tughlak. He claims to have killed a number of Turks in the battle with the armies of Firoz Shah Tughlak.

### **Choda and the Sultans of Delhi**

Choda II came into conflict with Firoz Shah Tughlak, the successor of Muhammad Tughlak, with the latter invaded Bengal in A.D. 1353. Probably the decisive battle between the armies of Bengal and Delhi, Sultan took place near the walls of Akdala towards the close of the siege when the rainy season set in, Choda II played the leading part in the battle field as

the armies of Pandua Sultan were fired after prolonged siege within the Akdala fort and so also the armies of Firoz outside the fort. Choda II won the victory over Firoz, Sultan of Delhi and presented twenty-two elephants to Bhanudeva III, which were captured probably in this battle while the Sultan's armies were on retreat.<sup>84</sup>

## BHIMA

Bhima, son of Choda II by Attamambika,<sup>85</sup> succeeded his father on the throne. According to the pillar inscription, he was named Bhima by his father (because he said to himself) "he will be terrible in battle by (his) wrath to (his) enemies."<sup>86</sup> King Bhima is said to have gained some victories by his own arm. For want of details, it is not easy to see what those victories were and how and when they were achieved. It is not known how long Bhima's reign lasted.

## CHODA III A.D. 1403

Choda II was the son of Bhima by Lakkamba. He was the last but the best known prince of the dynasty. He is mentioned as Bhimaya Choda and Lakkama choda after the names of his parents Bhimaya and Lakkama. Two of his inscriptions<sup>87</sup> one dated A.D. 1403 and the other undated and incomplete are at Panchadharala. According to the former Choda was great in every respect, in displaying splendour, destroying enemies and helping people. His titles were—Godavarimandanamandalesvara Sangrama Sahasrabahu ,birudankarudra, mahishmativallabha and lord of Madhyadesa.<sup>88</sup> He appears to have extended his kingdom southwards in the Godavari district.

### His Political Relations

The last date available for Choda is A D. 1403. It is not known whether Choda owed allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperor Narasimha IV.

In extending the kingdom westwards and southwards Choda came into conflict with the kings of Vijayanagar and the Reddis of Rajahmundry. Choda III bore the epithet—Karnatagodhamagharatta i.e. destroyer of the Karnatas.<sup>89</sup> As the Hoysalas ceased to exist by the time of Choda III-A.D. 1403, here

Karnata must refer to the kingdom of Vijayanagar ruled over by Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404) and his son Bukka II (A.D. 1404-1406) and Devaraya (1406-1422 A.D.). Where and when Choda III came into conflict with the Vijayanagar armies, is not known. As early as A.D. 1356, Sangama, a nephew of Bukka I defeated the king of Orissa.<sup>90</sup> Probably in one of Vijayanagar expeditions into southern Kalinga, in the early part of the reign of Harihara II, the Vijayanagar armies had a reverse in the hands of Choda III and his generals and this enabled Choda to style himself the vanquisher of the Karnata armies. And this must have happened after A.D. 1377 and before A.D. 1404, the first and the last dates available for Harihara II.

Choda III claims to have protected the rulers in Mahashatikona which has been rightly identified with Konasima in the Godavari delta.<sup>91</sup> By the middle of the 14th century A.D. Konamandala constituted a part of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu and no Koramandala Haihayas are heard of after A.D. 1364. So the local chief in Konamandala after A.D. 1364 probably refer to the Telugu Choda Annadeva and his son Virabhadra, and the Undirajas, whose territories were included in the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry after 1385 A.D. How Choda III come to protect the rulers in Konamandala is not clear. Probably the rulers in Mahashatkona conspired to rebel against the Reddis and shake off their yoke to the Reddi throne at Rajahmundry, with the help of local rulers in Kalinga including Choda III. When Katayaveoma was to punish them, probably Choda III came to their help. Choda's title Godavarimandanamandalisvara<sup>92</sup> further shows his successful interference into Reddi politics in this period. As the pillar inscription does not say that Choda III vanquished the enemy of the chiefs of Konamandals, it is likely that by A.D. 1403 Kataya Vema during his invasions into Southern Kalinga conquered not only the chiefs in Maha Shatkona but also Choda III.

### **End of the Dynasty**

No sons and successors of Choda III are heard of. So the dynasty seems to have ended with his death, some time after

A.D. 1403. The Ganga emperor at the time was Narasimha IV, whose reign Orissa experienced frequent foreign invasions from all sides. Probably the Kona Haihaya kingdom at Panchadharala was put to an end by the brothers Vema Reddi and Virabhadra Reddi, under the rule of Allada after Kataya Vema, during their expedition of conquest of Kalinga for which the Reddi inscriptions and literature bear testimony.

### **The Gona (Haihayas) of Vardhamanapura A.D. 1190-1294**

The Gonas or Konas, also of Haihaya descent, flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries, ruling over the tracts about Raichur, (Nizam's dominions), with capital at Vardhamanapura<sup>93</sup> (i.e. Vaddumani). This family of local rulers owed fealty to the Kakatiya emperors which is evident from their inscriptions and the location of their territories. In common with the haihayas of Konamandala, Panchadharala and Palnad, the haihayas of Vardhamanapura claimed descent from Kartaviryarjuna and as in the case of the first two dynasties, had the prefix Gona<sup>94</sup> or Kona prefixed to their names. Gona or Kona is the family name of these Haihayas as in the case of the Panchadharala Haihayas. Their name ended with Reddi or Nayani. The relationship of these Gona Haihayas to other Haihaya dynasties is not known. The Gonas had some political achievement to their credit and contracted matrimonial alliances with the Malyala family, another powerful fundatory family in the Kakatiya dominions.

### **Sources and Genealogy**

Material is scanty for the history of the Gonas. The inscriptions of this and Malyala family and Ranganatha Ramayana-Purva and Uttara-form the sources of the period.

As for the *origin* of these Haihayas, they were of the Gona or Kona stock claiming descent from Kartaviryarjuna<sup>95</sup>, and perhaps also lordship over Mahishmati.<sup>96</sup> The earliest known historical member of the family was Gona *Kataphupati*, Kata's son was *Buddha I* whose son was *Vittala or Ganna*. Vithala's son was *Buddha II* and his sons were *Kacha* and *Vithala*. Such is the genealogy given in Ranganatha Ramayana.

According to two inscriptions<sup>97</sup> of Gonapati of the Kakatiyas, at Budapur (Mahboobnagar district) with dates A.D. 1259

and 1263 respectively, Gona Buddha had a daughter Kuppamambika alias Kuppasanamma and her husband Malyala Gunda was a general of Ganapati. Gunda had remarkable political achievements to his credit and was *dead* by A.D. 1276.<sup>98</sup> Incidentally it may be mentioned that from two records of Ganapati at Kondiparti (Warangal district) dated A.D. 1191 and 1240 respectively, Malayala Chaundasenani<sup>99</sup> and Malyala Kata Chamupati<sup>100</sup> with their respective pedigrees are known. Thus Gunda, Chaunda and Kata were all of the Kalyala family and the first ancestor Ganna was common to the families of all the three generals.

Whether Kuppama was the daughter of Buddha I or II is not clear. If she was the daughter of Buddha I, Buddha I's grandson Buddha II must have been born about A.D. 1260 and 1295. On the other hand, if she was the daughter of Buddha II, Buddha II, must have been born about A.D. 1216 and composed Ranganatha Ramayana about A.D. 1240.<sup>101</sup> Most probably she was the daughter of Buddha II.

In the Uttara Ramayana, the authors Kacha and Vithala, sons of Buddha II mention their grand father Vithala as Ganna Reddi or Ganna Kohitindra. As has been suggested,<sup>102</sup> either Vithala had a second name Ganna as is common among rich Reddi families to have two names—one at home and the other outside, or Buddha had two fathers-Vithala and Ganna—one real and the other adopted; and the first view is more probable.

From the Raichur inscription<sup>103</sup> dated A.D. 1294 Ganna, entitled Kakatiya Sannaharudradeva and Vithala—his inscription with those of Uttara Ramayana is baseless and as they were grandfather and grandson according to Ranganatha Ramayana, grandson could never have been rajyarakshamani and so even if the two Vithalas were identical, Ganna could never have been so. But, it may be pointed out that both Ganna and Vithala could have been the grandsons of Vithala alias Ganna named after the two names of the grand father. Proceeding further on this assumption, we may say that Buddha wrote Ranganatha Ramayana<sup>104</sup> after the name perhaps

„Panduranga Vithalanatha,” contracted into Ranganatha. Accepting this, Buddha had three sons—Ganna, Vithala and Kacha and the daughter Kuppambika.

### Political History

*Vithala alias Ganna*, father of Buddha II is said to have been bright like the sun, a moon to the ocean i.e. Konavamsa and a lion in destroying elephants i.e. enemies.<sup>105</sup> His wife was Anyamamba. He bore the epithets—Misara Ganda and Arigandabhairava.<sup>106</sup>

About *Buddha II*, we have no details. He may be identified with Buddhiniyaminigaru of the Kunkalagunta inscription—unfinished and undated. Some titles show that Buddha was valiant, destroyed his enemies and was like a right arm to Velungu bhupala<sup>107</sup> which must be Telugubhupala and may refer to Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. Buddha bore the epithets—Samastalakshmi sampurna, pratapalankasvara, vairinadehagaja—panchanana and samarashadanana.<sup>108</sup>

Among Buddha's sons, from the Raichur inscriptions dated A D. 1294, *Ganna* seems to have been the eldest and successor of his father. Ganna's many titles speak of his valour and political successes.

### Ganna and the Kakatiyas

Ganna bore the epithets—Kakatiya Katakasannaha and Rudradeva dakshina bhujadanda.<sup>109</sup> At this time, the Kakatiya king was Prataparudra. But mostly, Ganna's political victories were achieved during the closing years of Rudrama's reign when Prataparudra was the crown prince and was mentioned as Kumara Rudradeva in inscriptions. Ganna was a great general of Rudradeva as indicated by the epithets.

### Ganna's other Successes

His title—Hadapivarakundara indicates some victory of his over hada. Ganna seem to have come into conflict with the Telugu Cholas, won a victory and assumed the titles—cholajagajalavirai. Ganna claims to have taken the heads of Kosagi Maili, Uppula Manni, Akkinayaka, Madipali Kachayanayaka, Kanduri Kesinayaka; vanquished Rapaka

Bhima, Korala Kata, Eruva Tonda, and Choda chelukinayaka. Further he claims to have stolen the necklace of Keta, Permadiraya and the horses and Odayapatta of Bodda and vanquished the lord of Kudupupuripura.<sup>110</sup> Of these Kanduri Kesinayaka probably belonged to the Telugu Cholas of Kanduru, Eruva Tonda to the Eruva branch of the Telugu cholas, Kota permadiraya was perhaps a member of the later Kota chiefs and Bodda was probably a Telugu Pallava. Ganna must have achieved all these victories during the Kakatiya expansion in the reigns of Rudradeva and Pratapa rudra

Ganna's general is said to have conquered the forts of Adavani, Tumbulam, Maluva, Haluva, entered Raichur and built a fort for the protection of the people.<sup>111</sup> All these forts taken by Vithala were situated in Kunkaladesa under the rule of the Seunas or Yadavas of Devagiri. So Vithala, the Younger brother of Ganna, secured these forts from the Yadava officers of Ramachandra.

### **Gundaya's Political Relations**

Gundaya, son-in-law of Buddha II, was a good horseman— an expert handler of several weapons—asi, musala, Karnuka etc.<sup>112</sup> His title Peda mudduganda indicates some victory of his by A.D. 1269. By A.D. 1272, Gundaya claims to have defeated the Scvuna king *i e* Yadava ruler in the battlefield.<sup>113</sup> Thus in the conflicts between the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas in this period, Gundaya won a victory over the ruler—either Mahadeva (A.D. 1259—60-71 A.D.) or his successor Ramachandra or Ramadeva (1271—1309 A.D.) - probably the former for during the early part of his reign, he extended his rule in greater part of the Telugu Country. Malayala Gunda claims a victory over the ruler of Sankisapura,<sup>114</sup> which victory is claimed by Malayala Kata also.<sup>115</sup>

### **End of the Gona Family**

No sons and successors of Gonka, misaraganda Kacha and Vithala are heard of. But Bachaya, Boppadu, and Ganapatideva—sons of Kuppambika, sister of Kance and Vithala are heard of from records.<sup>116</sup> Thus no doubt belong to the Malayala family. It appears that, so long the Kakatiya kingdom prospered,

the Gonas also prospered and ruled at Raichur till the end of Prataparudra's rule. With the decline and fall of the Kakatiya kingdom the Gona Kaihayas also declined and are not known the time of Prataparudra.

### THE HAIHAYAS OF PALNAD A.D. 1100-1481

A branch of the Haihayas ruled over the Palnad tract, at present forming the Palnad taluq of Guntur district, during the 12th Century A.D., with its capital at Gurizala alias Madhavipattana.<sup>117</sup> In common with the Haihayas of Konamandala, Panchadarala and Vardhamanapura, the Haihayas of Palnad claimed to belong to Haihayavamsa, traced ancestry to Kartaviryajuna and were lords of Mahishmati. But unlike the other Haihaya dynasties of the Telugu area, they did not bear the epithet Kona. They played an important role in the contemporary South Indian politics consequent on the strategical position of their kingdom on the borders of the Chola empire on the one side, and the Chalukyan empire on the other. These Haihayas owed allegiance to the Cholas and their representatives the Velanandu Chodas, except when they were forced to submit to Chalukyan suzerainty.

*South India at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.* roughly comprised of three major kingdoms—the Kalinga, Chalukya and Chola ruled over by Anantavarman choda Ganga, Vikramaditya VI and Kulottunga I respectively. The history of Vengi, in main, was the struggle between the Cholas and the Chalukyas for hegemony over it, in which success was with the Cholas.

#### Location of Palnad and Sources for the Period

"Palnad lies on the right bank of Krishna commencing from a point 120 miles from the sea bounded on its north and west sides by 75 miles length of the river. Having its south and east sides shut in by hills and forest land. . . Palnad measures 1090 square miles in Area."<sup>118</sup> Thus on the north and west, Palnad is separated from the Nizam's dominions by the Krishna, and the jungles on the south, divide it from the more open plains of Virukonda, Narasaraopet and Sattenpalle taluqs of Guntur district.<sup>119</sup>

Inscriptions of the Haihayas and Palnative eracharitra<sup>120</sup> from the main sources. Some records of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Velanandu Chodas form the supplementary sources. Palnativiracharitra of Srinatha and Virabhadrakavi are of much later origin written after two and seven centuries—respectively, after the battle of Karampodi and narrate only the details of the battle and the civil war. Recorded tradition is of indispensable value.

### Origin and Rise of the Dynasty

A palm leaf Ms<sup>121</sup> of Viracharitra begins the ancestry of the Haihayas of Palnad with Brahma. Brahma's son was Narada in whose lineage was born Kritavirya. Kritavirya's son was Kartavirya. Moon does not find place in this. But the Gurizala epigraph<sup>122</sup> of Beta II says that Kartavirya was born in the lunar race. According to the above Virakamendra was sixth in descent from Kartavirya and the names of the five intermediaries are not mentioned.<sup>123</sup>

The time and the circumstances under which the Haihayas came and settled down in Palnad, it is not easy to see. But the close similarity between the introductory passage in the Bhriguvanda inscription<sup>124</sup> dated A.D. 1118 describing the family of these chiefs, and that in the two inscriptions of Konahaihaya Satya<sup>125</sup> and the prevalence of joint rule in Palnad as in Konamandala perhaps point to the conclusion that the Palnad Haihayas branched off from the Haihayas of Konamandala towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. though the exact relationship between the two dynasties is not traceable.

### BETA I A.D. 1103-1110

The earliest historical person of the Palnad Haihayas was Chagi Beta. His only inscription is from Satrasala<sup>126</sup> dated A.D. 1103 mentioning his subordinate Mandadi Revinayaka who bore the epithets—Mahishmatidesarattadi, Haihaya rajyapratishthacharya, Mallavrolupuravaradhisvara, and Sanivarasiddhi. The only other reference to Beta is an inscription at Gurizala dated A.D. 1137 belonging to his son where in he is mentioned as Chagi Beta.<sup>127</sup> As the earliest inscriptions of

Vikrama are dated A.D. 1111, probably Beta's rule ended in that year.

Thus in the founding of the Haihaya kingdom by Beta I which was accomplished by A.D. 1103 Mandadi Ravinayaka had a predominant role as is evidenced by his titles and was rewarded with the lordship of Nallavrolu in return for his services. The title Sanivarasiddhi perhaps suggests the political relationship that obtained between Haihaya Beta I and Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas. Probably almost from the beginning of his reign, Beta was on terms of alliance with the Western Chalukyas, his powerful neighbours.

### VIKRAMA I A.D. 1111-1118

Vikrama was the son and successor of Beta I. He too had a brief reign of seven years. The extent of the Palnad kingdom in this reign is seen from the prevalence of inscriptions. The earliest inscription is from Macherla<sup>128</sup> dated A.D. 1111 and mentions Aditya. The record from Adigoppula<sup>129</sup> mentions Komara Docheya, son of Divakara Peggada, ruler of Adigoppula. It does not mention Virakama but these chiefs must have acknowledged his suzerainty as Adigoppula was included in the Palnad kingdom. One more epigraph from Macherla dated A.D. 1111 mentions Aditya.<sup>130</sup> Vikrama's reign must have come to a close in A.D. 1118 which was the earliest date for his successors—Rajaraja I and Beta II who ruled conjointly

### Vikrama's Political Relations

His capital was Machrole alias Mahadevitataka. The influence of the Western Chalukyas in the Palnad kingdom in this reign seems to have made rapid advance though it had only small beginnings in the previous reign. Aditya was undoubtedly a Western Chalukya general and one among the first generals who settled down in different kingdoms in Vengi. Probably this Aditya is identical with Aditya dandanayaka, son of Brammadevanayaka and with Adimayya father of Govindaraju figuring in two records<sup>131</sup> at Draksharama dated c.v. 45 (A.D. 1122) and 58 (A.D. 1133) if so, the earliest date for Aditya is "A.D. 1111. Again the engravers of the record at Macherla were Kanarese and recorded their names

in Kannada.<sup>132</sup> It is likely that Divakara preggoda and his son Komara Dochaya, were also Kannarese as their names seem to indicate. These, no doubt, show that Vikrama was witnessing passively the spread of the Chalukyan power into his kingdom though he did not acknowledge his subordination of Vikramaditya in his inscriptions.

### RAJARAJA I AND BETA II. A.D. 1118—1129—1134

Rajaraja I and Beta II were the first two among the four sons of Vikrama I and the names of the last two are unknown. They exercised joint sway like their brothers, the Kona Haihavas in Konamandala for eleven years—up to A D 1129. After that year Rajaraja I is not heard of and Beta II ruled alone for a few years till about A D 1134. The earliest inscription of the reign is from Bhrigubanda i.e. Bikkibanda dated A D. 1118 mentioning Pennamanayaka and Kamenayaka of Tangedumpudi<sup>133</sup> Rajaraja and Beta bore the epithet mahamandalesvara and did not acknowledge Chalukyan supremacy in the record though far certain the Chalukyan power must have been increasing in the Palnad kingdom. Towards the close of Rajaraja's reign A D 1129, Kalyani witnessed the change of kings—as Vikramaditya was succeeded by Somesvara III, who inherited the vastly extended Chalukyan empire.

A.D. 1129 appears to have been the first year of Beta II's independant rule. Beta's record of that year<sup>134</sup> from Gurizala is issued in the reign of Bhulokamalla i.e. Somesvara III (A D 1127--1138). Beta II bore the title Brudankarudra and shifted his capital from Macherla to Gurizala. His acknowledgement of Bhulokamalla's suzerainty was the culmination of the drift towards that end in the relations between the Palnad Haihayas and the Chalukyas during the reigns of Beta I and Vikrama I and Rajaraja I. Thus, Western Chalukya paramountacy and Haihaya subordination were definitely established in this period. Consequently, Beta would have allowed the passage of Chalukyan armies into other parts of Vengi through his kingdom and assisted in the expansion of Chalukyan power in Vengi for the rest of his reign.<sup>135</sup> The suggestion that all the Kshatriya dynasties helped the Chalukyas who afterwards

destroyed them one after another with Beta II being no exception to it<sup>136</sup> cannot be accepted for want of conclusive data.

No sons of Beta II are heard of. There seems to have been a short gap in the history of Palnad after Beta II and prior to the accession of Aluguraja. Neither the relationship between Beta II and Aluguraja is known

### ANUGURAJA<sup>137</sup> A.D. 1134— 1147

According to the palm leaf MS, Anuguraja was the son of Vikramendra and had three younger brothers—Artharaju, Teppaliraju and Tejassuraju.<sup>138</sup> But Virabhadra mentions, Anugu, as the son of Sundara Chakravarti. It has been suggested that as Anugu's son was Vikrama, his grandfather's name must have been Vikramendra and not Sundarachakravarti.<sup>139</sup> But probably Vikrama was the name and Sundarachakravarti a title and Virabhadru mentioned the title instead of the name of the king.

Anuguraja, is said to have ruled at Balamachapuri<sup>140</sup> alias Jambhanapuri in northern India. To free himself from the effects of sins of Kartavirya says Viracharitra<sup>141</sup> Anuguraja started on a pilgrimage taking with him his armies, ministers and family deity. He reached Andhradosa and rid himself of the sins by bathing in the Krishna near Amaravati. He married Mailamba, daughter of the king of Tsandavole and became the ruler of Palnad—given as dowry to Mailama—with capital at Gurizala.

*Chronology*: Anuguraja may be fixed approximately with the help of inscriptions. The earliest date for his son and successor—Nalakama is A.D. 1147<sup>142</sup> which also must have been the latest date for Anuguraja. As for the lower limit of his reign, it must be after A.D. 1134, the last date for Beta II. Two inscriptions<sup>143</sup> of Anuguraja, are at Kottapalle and Dronadula, with no dates, in which he is mentioned as mahamandalesvara (Anugu)raja and Pallinativiva Anugudeva maharaja respectively. Anuguraja was the lord of Kammanadu.

### His Political Relations

Anugu's father-in-law was Gonka II of Tsandavole men-

tioned as Dhavalasankha by Virabhadra.<sup>144</sup> Anugu with Gonka's support, extended his kingdom. From being the lord of five divisions<sup>145</sup> in Palnad he became the lord of Kammanadu,<sup>146</sup> towards the close of his reign. He owed no allegiance to the Chlukyas of Kalyani. On the other hand he must have fought Somesvara III and his generals in Vengi on behalf of Gonka II and the Cholas—Vikramachola and Kulottunga II and had a share in ending Chalukyan rule in Vengi by A.D. 1140. Thus Anugu owed allegiance to the Cholas and the Velanandu.

Anuguraja by Queen Mailama had a son Nalakama or Virakama II, three sons—Pedamallideva, Pinamallideva and Balamallideva by queen Viravidya<sup>147</sup> and four sons—Kamaraju, Narasingaraju, Jhettiraju and Perumalraju by Queen Bhurama. According to Viracharitra Ms,<sup>148</sup> Kamaraju and his three brothers prior to the birth of all these sons, Anuguraja adopted Bodanayadu alias Peddanna, son of minister Rachade Doddanayadu and married him to Lavamba, daughter of Krishnagandharva, a kshatriya lord of Kancherla.<sup>149</sup>

### NALA KAMA A.D. 1147

Nalakama succeeded his father in A.D. 1147 and not in A.D. 1170 as has been suggested by a previous writer.<sup>150</sup> The chronicle says that Dodda was bothered about his son to succession, resigned his premiership in favour of his son Brahmanayadu, who killed both Dodda and Alugu and enthroned Nalakama.<sup>151</sup> The circumstances that led Brahma and Nalakama to commit double murder are not known. Nalakama's inscription dated A.D. 1165 mentions his titles and mentions him as Mailaladevikamaraju. He is also known as Anugukamaraju and of Aihaya (Haihaya) vamsa. His rule lasted for 15 years as seen from records,<sup>152</sup> and for many more years according to tradition and the civil war in Palnad was fought in his reign.

### Events Leading to the eirar

Nalagama and Brahma drifted apart in the policy and so Nayakaralu alias Nagamma became the premier of the King and Brahma nayudu became minister of Pedamallideva and

his brothers. Brahma influenced Nalagama to assign a small territory for his step brothers. Pdamallideva and others. Nayakuralu was against it.<sup>153</sup> So Brahma left Gurizala with the princes and inhabitants of ninety villages and settled down at Macherla on the banks of the Chandrabhaga i.e. Chandravanka. Pdamallideva became the ruler and married the only daughter of Rayamurari Sovideva (A.D. 1167—1177) of the Kalachuris of Kalyani.<sup>154</sup> Thus this branch of the Haihayas in palnad, allied itself with the Kalachauri Haihayas of Kalyani as their predecessors with the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

The formation of a rival kingdom within the kingdom of Palnad roused the opposition of Nalakama and Nayakuralu. The minister sent men to plunder Macherla, who suffered a defeat in the hands of pdamallideva's forces led by Kannamadas.

Brahmanayudu proceeded to Gurizala for a purpose when Nayakuralu poisoned him with no effect, and then by a conspiracy she forced him to become a party for a cock fight, according to the terms of which wager, the vanquished must spend seven years in exile. Brahmanayudu lost the larger, left Macherla, crossed the Krishna and settled at Mandadi, which is 20 miles from Gurizala. Thus Brahma and Pdamallideva were outside the precincts of Nalakama's kingdom.

Once again Nayakaralu sent robbers to plunder Mandadi and drive off their cattle. Pdamallideva did not oppose the enemy. In the interests of safety in future, Brahma left Mandadi with Pdamalli and others, crossed the Krishna, proceeded towards Tripurantakam, built Medapi near Markapur and settled there.<sup>155</sup> This locality was under the Bikshavrittis of Srisailam at the time. After the period of exile and another six months were over, Brahma sent Alaraju alias Rachmalla, son of Kommaraja, grandson of Virasoma, and son-in-law of Nalagama<sup>156</sup> as ambassador to Gurizala to demand for Macherla kingdom with six months tax due to them. But as prearranged Alaraja was killed in a Brahmin's house, on his way back. On this point of murder that finally Brahma and Mallideva declared war on Nalakama, and proceeded towards Gurizala with their armies.

**The Date of the Battle<sup>157</sup>**

The chronicle of Palnadu enumerates the names of many chiefs who participated in the battle, the identity of some of whom in south Indian History enable us to arrive at the date of the battle approximately. On Mallideva's side were Komma, father of Alaraju, Attararajulu, kings of solar race, and several subordinate chiefs whose family names are enumerated in Viracharitra.<sup>158</sup> Nalakama is said to have sent letters to many kings asking them to come and join him in the war with their armies to which most of them responded. Among them were Velanantichoda II, Bhima II of Dharanikota, ruler of Solanki, Uragasena—probably a Naga chieftain, Erukukama, the ruler of the seven makes, kings of Ponnalla, Prodole, Katakadhipati i.e. Balodeva Purushottaman ruler of Orissa, Kalavaraya, Telugu princes of Devadri, king Pedabaha, Bhimasena, the Chola prince Suryakumara, Jayadeva, Jayasinga, ruler of Chandradavi, Viraballana i.e. Hoysala Virabellala II (A.D. 1173—1220), Aravasinga, rulers of Kahnata and Balgala and Sagi Potaraja of Gudimetta, Komma was the son of Sovideva (A.D. 1167—76) of the Kalachuryas, Prataparudra is Rudra I of the Kakatiyas. Besides these, Kotaketa II,<sup>159</sup> son of Bhima II Gonka III, son of Choda II participated in the battle at Karempudi and Rudradeva invaded Vengi in A.D. 1186. A chatu verse<sup>160</sup> gives the date of the battle as s 1308 which is wrong.<sup>161</sup> The battle must have been fought about A.D. 1178 to 1185 as most of the kings mentioned above, lived at that time, or a little earlier from A.D. 1176 to 1182.

**Events of the Battle**

Nalakama's armies were commanded by his brother Narasimha and Pedamalli's by Balachandra, son of Brahma. The battle lasted for three days. Viracharitra describes the battle in its successive stages most graphically and the hero was Balachandra. On Balachandra's death the command of Mallideva's armies was assumed by Kalacuri Komma on the third day and he too was slain.<sup>162</sup> The detailed fashion in which the narrative is treated is realistic but its late origin

and dearth of contemporary inscriptional evidence lessen its value as a historical document. According to the Viracharitra, Brahma and his partisans were victorious Nayakularalu fled and Brahma enthroned Nalagama once again. But tradition records that Nalakama was victorious, Brahma was forced to make peace with him and left Palnad on a religious mission.<sup>163</sup>

### Results

The civil war in Palnad and the Karampudi battle resulted in the immediate destruction of the wealth of the country in men and money. The Haihaya kingdom in Palnad ended thus though the heroes of war are immortalised in the minds of the masses, in literature and architecture of the country and were deified in course of time. This war, hastened the fall of the Velanandu kingdom and other minor powers in Vengi and brought in its train the invasion of Rudradeva in A.D. 1186.

### The Later Haihayas

For a period of fifty years after the battle of Karampudi from A.D. 1185 to A.D. 1235, no Haihayas are heard of, though tradition has it, that Nalakama continued to rule after the battle. From an inscription, dated A.D. 1235,<sup>164</sup> a <sup>165</sup>*Anugudevamaharaja* is heard of. From the name, he appears to be a Haihaya and probably was a son of Nalakama. A Mallidevaraja comes to light from an undated record at Terala. From his name, this prince may be taken to be a Haihaya.

The Kakatiya influence spread in to Palnad in this period. The inscription dated A.D. 1222<sup>166</sup> at Gamalapadu mentioning Jayapanayaka and the Mutukuru record dated A.D. 1268<sup>167</sup> mentioning Sripati, a feudatory of the Kakatiyas as Ianapati, ruling from Gurindala i.e. Gurizala attest the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas over Palnad.

In the 15th century A.D. in 1434<sup>168</sup> *Anugumandaleswara*, the lord of Ayodhya is mentioned in a record from Karampudi. As the inscription records the building of a temple for Virakoti, this Anugu probably of Palnad Haihayas honoured his great ancestors.

Another record<sup>169</sup> from Karempudi dated A.D. 1475 mentions Jivaraksha Timmanna, son of Macherla Chennudu, raising a tower here in Chilamanayudu, Jivaraksha Timmanna, Padamalī devaraju, Vobineni, brother of Macherla Timma and his son are figured on the beam, some with speares in hands. Perhaps these chiefs were later members of the family to which Brahmanayudu and his colleagues belonged.<sup>170</sup>

A Minugu Mallanayanīgaru<sup>171</sup> bearing many titles is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1481 from Charlagudīpadu in Gurīndalasthala.

Mahamandaleswara *Kumara birudungumaraju* is known to us from an inscription<sup>172</sup> at Veludurti, with no date registering a grant to the temple Raddīgutla at Sasanapumbrolu. From the name this Kamaraju appears to be a Haihaya, perhaps a grandson of Nalakama and son of Anuguraja (A.D. 1234).

*Other Haihayas*: Prince Naraiparudra<sup>173</sup> a brother of Vijayaditya II of the Chalukyas of Vengi, was a descendant of the Haihaya race. Queen Sridevi,<sup>174</sup> mother of Nannichoda of the Telugu Chodas of Konidena and wife of Chodaballī was a princess of the Haihaya race. Chandaladevi, wife of Mallapa II<sup>175</sup> of the Chalukyas of Pithapur was the daughter of prince Brahman, the ornament of the Haihayas and lord of Sagaravishya. An inscription of Perananitta<sup>176</sup> (Ongole taluq) mentions Haihaya titles and seems to mention a Haihaya prince.

Cheruvasanī, wife of mahasamantakallayanayaka was of Haihaya lineage and her mother was Jakkambika. She is heard of from a Chagī record at Amaravatī bearing the date A.D. 1260<sup>177</sup>

The Inugala gotra family had among its titles—mahishmatipuravaradhīsvara.<sup>178</sup> The Korkantī family bore the epithets<sup>179</sup> Ayodhyapuralakshmisamrajyanīrvakaka and Mahīrmatipuravaradhīsvara. These titles are reminiscent of Haihaya rule in Andhara.

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## CHAPTER THREE

# The Chagis A.D. 1100-1477

The Chagis or Tyagis were the rulers of the Natavadi and Vijayavativishayas with capitals at Gudimetta, Vijayananda and Vinukonda, at different times for nearly three centuries and a half with interrugnums some long in the middle. The Chagi dynasty owed nominal allegiance to the Cholas, perhaps the Kakatiyas and the Gajapatis. The rulers were warriors and administrators and in fact independent for all practical purposes. Their kingdom was not small, political achievements not insignificant compared to other dynasties in Vengi at the time excepting the Velanandus and the Telugu Chodas. The family name of the Chagis was Vipparla.<sup>1</sup> The Chagis had their own coinage and contracted diplomatics alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas and the Kondapadumatis and were the originators of the Palnad Haihaya<sup>2</sup> and a Telugu Chola<sup>3</sup> dynasties.

### Early history

The caste of the Chagis is uncertain. Some inscriptions call them Sudras, while others and Ramavilasa by Telugu Lakshmana kavi of a much later date, mention them as Kshatriyas. One inscription<sup>4</sup> says that among the Kshatriya-Kulas was born Vipparlavamsa, in which were born great warriors and saints like Nagarjuna. Chagi Venkana was of the solar race.<sup>5</sup> But many Chagi records trace the ancestry to Durjaya and Durjayakula. Durjaya, according to some inscrip-

tions,<sup>6</sup> was born in a caste born from the feet of Vishnu and according to others he was born from Brahma and was the lord of the west (Paschimadhisvara) and protector of the earth.<sup>7</sup> A few records of the 13th century of the time of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas refer to him as of the lineage of Karikala. It is not possible to see whether this Ranajaya, Ramadurjaya of Velanandu records and Tandivada plates of Prithvisvara are identical for want of data and harder still to accept the suggestion of their identity with Durjaya.<sup>8</sup> His son was Ranajaya according to the genealogy of the Sagi family.<sup>9</sup> Many a dynasty in Andhra—the Kakatiyas, the Kondapadumatis, the Parichchedis, the Natavedis and others claim descent from *Durjaya*.<sup>10</sup> But the historicity of this semi mythical personage is shrouded in mist as in the case of Kariakla and Trilochapallava.<sup>11</sup> Hence on the basis of a single epigraph<sup>12</sup> mentioning Muppa as son of Durjaya which may first mean that Muppa is a descendant of Durjaya and nothing more as attested by other Chagi records to say that allowing on average of twenty five years for each generation it would appear that the family came into prominence under Durjaya some time abouts 971<sup>13</sup> is incorrect.

The Chagis were Sudras to begin with and assumed Kshatriya lineage later on like the Reddis of Rajahmundry. According to Ramavilasa, the Chagi ancestry is as follows: Brahma was born from the navel lotus of Vishnu and from his Marichi. Marichi's son was Kshyapa and his son was Bhaskara. Bhaskara's son was Vaivasvata whose son was Manu, and Manus son was Ikshvaka. In Ikshvakavamsa was born Kakutsa, Raghu and Dasaratha. Dasaratha's son was Rama and in Suryavamsa, Sagivamsa became famous.<sup>14</sup>

### MUPPA I C. A.D. 1118

Muppa is the first historical member of the Chagi dynasty. None of his inscriptions are available and a few details are known from the records of his successors. Muppa had another name *Arya* or *Ariya*. As a warrior he received regal insignia from king Rajendra Chola<sup>15</sup> i.e. Kulottunga I. (A.D. 1070—1118). Hence, must be, Muppa served loyally Kulottunga I in his wars

like the early Velanandu chodas, and was duly rewarded with royal insigns and perhaps also some tracts to govern, which must have formed the nucleus of the Chagi kingdom. This must have happened before A.D. 1118—the end of Kulottunga I's reign.

### DORA I A.D. 1118-1160

Dora was the son and successor of Muppa. He possessed great prowess and destroyed his enemies. He had the title Tyagi as one inscription mentions Tyagi Dora,<sup>16</sup> son of king Ariya. To mention him as Gonkadoraparaju is a mistake.<sup>17</sup> He is said to have inherited the kingdom, extended it by the strength of his arms and received regal insignia from Rajendrachoda<sup>18</sup> i.e. Kulottunga I. This fresh conferment must have taken place before A.D. 1118 and is suggestive of a renewal of assertion of suzerainty on the part of the Cholas and subordination of the Chagis and that Dora was in the service of the Cholas like Muppa I or else the conferment on Muppa is attributed to Dora by the later inscription.

Dora I was a powerful king. His coins—Tyagigadyas are heard of as early as A.D. 1126.<sup>19</sup> His only inscription<sup>20</sup> is from Gudimetta with date A.D. 1161. Other inscriptions of his time belong to his sons. The Satrasala inscription<sup>21</sup> dated A.D. 1103 mentions Haihaya Doraya Beta. i.e. Beta, son of Dora I, the founder of the dynasty of the Haihayas of Palnad. Pota another son of Dora I figures in an Amaravati epigraph dated A.D. 1147<sup>22</sup> and his minister Kavaliya Singana preggada is mentioned in it. Kallaya nayaka, son of Dora by the daughter of Muchchayanayaka of Rachuru, appears in a record from Amaravati dated 1150.<sup>23</sup> Probably Pota was the crown prince from A.D. 1147 and he and Kallayanayaka governed over the Amaravati tracts—the northern most part of the Chagi kingdom.

### Dora's Political Relations

The Chola emperors at the time were Kulottunga I, Vikrama chola, Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II. The Chagi kingdom does not seem to have been affected by the Chalukyan invasions and Dora I and his armies must have sided with Vikramachola and Kulottunga II in restoring in Vengi Chola rule. Dora was on friendly relations with Muchchanayaka the chief of Rachuru.

## POTA I—A.D. 1161—1190

Pota was the eldest son and successor of Dora. He is described as a warrior, a Rajasimha, and protector of his kingdom and compared to Kumara and Pradyumna. His two records<sup>24</sup> are dated A.D. 1161 and 1191 respectively. Pota issued Tyagigadyas referred to in a record of A.D. 1171.

### His political relations

The Chagi kingdom included Vijayavativishaya in this period. Pota must have owed allegiance to the Cholas. His Velanandu choda contemporaries were Choda II (A.D. 1163—1180) Gonka III (A.D. 1181—1185) and Prithvisvara (A.D. 1186—1210). Pota was on terms of alliance with Choda II which is attested by the mention of Tyagigadyas in Velanandu records.<sup>25</sup> He had friendly relations with the Natavadi as his daughter Prolamadevi was married to Natavadi Durgaraja.

Pota, an ally of the Palnad Haihayas, participated in the civil war and battle at Karempudi (A.D. 1178—1186) on the side of the elder line Nalakama. One version<sup>26</sup> of Palnativiracharitra mentions that Sagi Potamaraju, minister Satya, Gundamadeva, and Gobburaju and others with vast infantry (288,000) arrived to join Nalakama in the war. Sagipota is king Pota I. He must have met Choda II and Gonka III, Kota Bhima II and Keta II, Natavadi Durga and the Kakatiya armies as allies. Pota I survive the Karempudi battle<sup>27</sup> which is evident from the fact that his inscriptions range up to A.D. 1190.

Tradition has that Pota captured the horse of Vemulavoda Bhima and died because of the latter's curse. The same verse mentioning the curse is attributed as referring to Letavarapu Pota by Turaga Rama Kavi and by some writers to Relluai Tirumalayya.<sup>28</sup> Consequently much credit cannot be ascribed to this verse regarding Pota's death.

## DORA II A.D. 1190-1199

Son of Pota I by Rajembika, Dora II ascended the Chagi throne in A.D. 1190. He extended the bounds of his kingdom, transferred his capital to Vijayadada and is said to have ruled

over the Chagi kingdom for fifteen years.<sup>29</sup> His earliest inscription mentions him as Chagi Dorayarajulu.<sup>30</sup> The next inscription of the reign is dated A.D. 1187 issued by his son Pota. In this, Dora bore the epithets—Natavativishayadhisvara and Tyagiraja. Dora is mentioned simply as king Tyagi in Pota's record of A.D. 1199.<sup>31</sup> He improved the Natavadi-kingdom. His rule must have lasted up to A.D. 1204 i.e. fifteen years from A.D. 1190.

### His Political Relations

Dora alias Tyagi must have come into conflict with the local rulers in Vengi in extending his kingdom. He must have taken advantage of the growing weakness of the Velanandu kingdom under Prithvisvara.

### POTA II A.D. 1199—1230

Pota II ruled the kingdom for thirty years. He was associated in the governance of the kingdom from A.D. 1197. The extent of the kingdom is seen from the provenance of inscriptions. The record from Bewada dated A.D. 1197, mentions his grant of Jakkampudi in Kondapadumati.<sup>32</sup> In the record dated A.D. 1197, Pota is mentioned as Narasimhavardhana Tyagipota, ruler of Natavadi and Vijayavatishyas. Pota is spoken of as a valiant statesman and destroyer of enemies. His last records<sup>33</sup> are from Navabpetta with dates A.D. 1230 and in them Pota and Ganapati were mentioned together.

From A.D. 1212 to 1230 Pota II and Ganapaya ruled conjointly. This Ganapaya was the younger brother of Pota II and son of Dora II. What brought about this establishment of dual kingship in the middle of a reign, it is not easy to see—Probably political exigencies of the time. Ganapaya's record from Amaravati dated A.D. 1216 mentions a grant by chagi Ganapaya maharajulu.<sup>34</sup> Ganapaya was the crown prince from the beginning of the reign of Pota II and then became joint ruler issuing inscriptions by himself and in conjunction with Pota II.

### His foreign relations

The Velanandu kingdom was in decadent condition, after Prithvisvara death in A.D. 1210. The Kondapadumati kingdom had ended as the last date for Marda III is A.D. 1173. This explains Pota's making grants in Kondapadumati tracts almost from the beginning of his reign. Matavadi Rudra,<sup>35</sup> Kota Keta II, Konkandravadi Bhima were contemporaries of Pota II. Konkandravadi Bhima's ancestor was a Chagi Pota.

The Kakatiya contemporary of Chogi Pota was Ganapati. The Palnad war which affected adversely the kingdoms in Vengi was followed by Rudra I's invasion of Vengi. Ganapati continued Rudra's policy of expeditions and conquests. The Kakatiya influence in Vengi was growing steadily though perhaps imperceptibly. From one of the last inscriptions dated A.D. 1230 of Pota II and Ganapaya, it is clear that a servant of Somayasahini made gifts the very next year in A.D. 1331 at Navabpet.<sup>36</sup> This is an unmistakable sign of Kakatiya encroachment into Chagi kingdom for Somaya sahini was none other than a general of Ganapati. There is no evidence showing either Pota's opposition or submission to the invader. Joint rule with Ganapaya was a precautionary measure against the Kakatiya inroads.

### GANAPAYA AND DORA III. A.D. 1230—1257

Ganapaya's independent rule began in A.D. 1230 i.e. the last date for Pota II. But nothing is heard of him till A.D. 1240. His associate ruler in A.D. 1240 was Chagi Dorayaraju, whose relationship to Ganapaya is not known. An inscription of that year at Chintapalle records a gift for the merit of Doraya and Gonapaya.<sup>37</sup> Manmaraju figuring in a record at Adaviravulapadu,<sup>38</sup> was probably the son of Pota II and grandson of Dora alias Tyagi and so named Chagi Manma after him. He was the nephew of Ganapaya and probably the crown prince. Three epigraphs<sup>39</sup> dated A.D. 1246 at Tripurantakam show the expansion of the Chagi kingdom in that direction. They were issued by Ganapaya, Muppaladevi, Ammangaru and Doraya respectively.

### Their Political Relations

The Chagis must have come into conflict with the Kakatiyas and their subordinates in extending their kingdom especially in the direction of Tripurantakam by A.D. 1246. Inscriptions of Ganapati are already at Tripurantakam by A.D. 1245,<sup>40</sup> those of his brother-in-law Natavadi Rudra and his sons by A.D. 1248.<sup>41</sup> and of his subordinate Gangayasatini by A.D. 1250,<sup>42</sup> perhaps the Chagis met the Kakatiyas and their subordinates as friends at Tripurantakam.

### The Last years of Ganapaya and Dora

Chagi Manmaraju of the Muppalla inscription dated A.D. 1246<sup>43</sup> is identical with Chagi Manma of the record of A.D. 1242 noted already and of the Tripurantakam inscription of A.D. 1230. Muppala manaidevi, mother of Ganapaya bearing the epithet Mahamandalesvara is heard of from a Berswada inscription dated A.D. 1246. Ganapaya's last inscription is from Yenamalakiduru dated A.D. 1250. No inscriptions of either Dora, Ganapati, Muppala, and Chagi Manma are available between the years A.D. 1250 and 1257, the earliest date for the next set of joint rulers and also the last date for Dora and Ganapaya. One feature of this period is the issuing of grants by four persons—all bearing regal epithets throughout side by side.<sup>44</sup>

### MANMA POTA AND MANMA GANPAYA A.D 1257-1268

Inscriptions do not tell us the relationship between Manmapota and Manmaganapati and their relationship to their predecessors Dora and Ganapaya whom they succeeded on the throne. But the term Manma in their names shows that they were the grandsons of Pota II and Ganapaya through either sons Manmachogi and perhaps Dora respectively.

Manma Pota's earliest inscription is from Muppalla dated A.D. 1257 mentioning his generals—Komma and his son Manka. A Manmachagiraju is mentioned in another inscription of the same year from Kondanayanivaram<sup>45</sup> Mahamandalesvara Tyagi manma Ganapatidevaraja is first heard of in A.D. 1259 from an inscription at Vedadri.<sup>46</sup> The next inscription is from

Anumanchipalli of A.D. 1260 mentioning a grant by Ganapaya. This mentions Manma Chagi Ganapati, as the son of Ganapati and Vennambika<sup>47</sup>, which Ganapati was the son of Dora by Muppama.<sup>48</sup> Pota is mentioned as the ruler of Natavadi kingdom.

The extent of the kingdom retained its usual dimensions. On the Kakatiya throne was Rudrama in this period. Records of her and her subordinates are at Tripurantakam<sup>49</sup> and in Palnad tracts.<sup>50</sup> There is no evidence whether the chagis came into conflict with them.

### MANMACHAGIRAJU. A.D. 1268—1292

No sons of Manmapota and Manma Ganapaya are heard of. Manmachagiraju who does not seem to belong to the main branch of the Chagis, succeeded Pota and Darapa and exercised sway for some years.

#### His ancestry

Chagiraju's grandfather was Pedda chagiraja, maternal uncle Peddaya, his father was Bhimaraja and mother Parvatidevi.<sup>51</sup> None of these persons figure in other Chagi records. The earliest inscription of Manmachagi is from Munagalapalle dated A.D. 1268. An inscription from Bozwada of A.D. 1276 mentions Chagi Pota's servant Alladadevraja. This Pota's relationship to Manmachagi is not known. A.D. 1292—the earliest date for Rudrayachagi may be taken to be the last date for Chagi Hanma.

#### Hanmachagi and the Kakatiyas

The Chagis and the Kakatiyas did come into conflict with each other in this period. Of the initial year of Manma Chagi's reign is a record at Gudimetta, the Chagi capital of Kakatiya Rudradeva maharaja, mentioning her general Patta Sahini Dadi Gannamanayadu.<sup>52</sup> Rudrama's inscriptions are found in continuous order in Kistna district from A.D. 1268 till the end of her reign—A.D. 1291. For instance in A.D. 1290, Dadi Somayasahini and Peddaya Sahini, two generals of the Kakatiyas were donors to the same temple at Gudimetta<sup>53</sup>

Thus Kakatiya influence, if not the occupation, as has been suggested by the epigraphist,<sup>54</sup> which began with Gannama continued throughout Manmachagi's reign.

### RUDRAYACHAGI A.D. 1292-1305

Rudraya's only record is from Gudimetta dated A.D. 1292 wherein he is mentioned as Rudraya Tyagi.<sup>55</sup> A record at Pedda-ambatipudi mentions the king Chagiraja and Lakshmadevi in A.D. 1305.<sup>56</sup> If the king of this inscription is Rudraya Tyagi his rule may be extended up to A.D. 1305.

### A. D. 1305-1477

No chagis are heard for one and a half centuries after A.D. 1305, undoubtedly the chagi kingdom come under the Kakatiya suzerainty under Prataparudra by A.D. 1305 and remained this till about A.D. 1330 when it came under the Reddi dynasty and constituted an integral part of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu till its break up about A.D. 1440. Next, these tracts were occupied by the armies of the Gajapatis and by A.D. 1455 Kondapalli was the seat of a Gajapati viceroyalty in the reigns of Kapileswara<sup>57</sup> (A.D. 1430-1464) and Purushottama (A.D. 1464-1496). About A.D. 1477 we hear of some chagi rulers at Vinukonda.

### THE CHAGIS OF VINUKONDA

How these chagis are related to the Chagis of Gudimetta is unknown though the common surname Chagi, certainly suggests their belonging to a common stock. The ending Nayaka or Nayudu of the names of the Chagis of this branch indicates their giving up of the Kshatriya lineage and levelling themselves with the Chaturthanvayas i.e. people of the burth caste definitely.

#### Early History

In the fourth caste was born Annamanayaka. His son was Peda Ganna. His son was Gada, Gada's son was Sagi Ganna

or Gannamanayaka. Gannama bore the titles-*Karavalabhairava*, *Puliyamarkoluganda* and *Gandabherunda*<sup>58</sup> He issued two inscriptions from Vinukonda, his capital. From the first of them, the following genealogy is given in the Kaiṣiyat of Vinukonda.<sup>59</sup>

### SAGI KOMMANAYAKA

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TIPPA	GATHA-TIPPAMBA	CHENNA
<hr/>		
PEDATIPPA	GANNA (DONOR)	CHINNATIPPA

The second inscription mentions Ganna's mother as Tammasani and the genealogy in inscription differs from that in the Kaiṣiyat. From inscriptions it is as follows :

### ANNAMANAYAKA

#### PEDAGANNA

#### GADE-TAMMASANI

#### GADE (DONOR)

### The political relations of the Chagi of Vinukonda

Of this family only Ganna of A.D. 1477 was a man of some consequence and ruled at Vinukonda, formerly a fortress of importance under the Reddis. He is said to have been a governor under Purushottama and constructed the hill fortress.<sup>60</sup> This Ganna owed allegiance to the Gajapati viceroy Ganadeva at Kondapalle and through him to Gajapati Kapileswara and Purushottama. No sons and successors of Chagi Ganna are heard off.

### Other Chagis

A Chagi Manmapota the lord of Brihat Kanchipura (i.e. Penu ganchi prolu) is heard of from an inscription dated A.D. 1257.<sup>61</sup> A record from ongole dated A.D. 1087-88 gives the genealogy of a family of Telugu Cholas beginning with Chagi Venkana of suryavamsa.<sup>62</sup> This Venkana does not find a place

in Chagi Pedigree. This Chagi prince must have lived in the middle of the 10th century A.D.

A family with the surname Vipparla was in the service of the Chagis of Gudimetta. Its members are known from three inscription.<sup>63</sup> Peddamallanayaka's son was Dora prolenayaka of Mannakula. Prola's son was Mallinayaka or Malnayaka who was in the service of Dora. As the family name of the chagis was Vipparla, it is likely that Vipparla family is related to them. Meckenzie Mss give a long list of the titles<sup>64</sup> of the Vipparla family which do not seem to refer to the Chagi kings or their later descendants. They perhaps are of some other family with the surname Vipparla.

An undated epigraph at Penuganehiprolu,<sup>65</sup> mentions Dora son of Bhimaraja ruling over the Natavadi country and granting lands of the Munna, Probably this Dora was a brother of Manna, Chagiraju of A.D. 1268 whose father was also Bhimaraju <sup>66</sup> If so Dora must have ruled in conjunction with Manmachagi about A.D. 1268. About A.D. 1215 a Velananti Sagi Dorayaraju is heard of from an epigraph at Yenamalakuduru. The prefix Velanandu is significant probably indicating some victory of Doraya over Velanāḍu Prithvisvara and annexation of some tracts to the Chāgi kingdom. The identity of this Dora, whose data falls in the reign of Pota II and Ganapaya (1199—1230 A.D.) is not known. Gannaya Sagi Baicha of Vipparlakula is said to have possessed valour, captured Vellanki, took, Rama its ruler captive and killed him.<sup>67</sup> This prince's relationship to other chagis is not known. Another Ganna is identical with Ganna of Vinukonda<sup>68</sup> Baicha may have lived about A.D. 1477.

An inscription at Kanchel a,<sup>69</sup> dated A.D. 1185 mentions *mahamandalesvara* Sagiraja. This sagiraja's subordinate Mallinayaka figures in another regard at Rompicherla, with date lost as a subordinate of Dora. As Sagiraja's date falls in the reign of Pota I (1161-1190 A.D.), he must have been a prince of the royal family. If not identical with Pota I. Dora may be the same as king Dora I (A.D. 1118-1160) or Dora II (A.D. 1190-1199).

An inscription from Yenikapadu,<sup>70</sup> with date lost mentions *mahāmandaleśvara* Chagi Dorayaraja. Probably he is identical with Dorayarāja of the Kancherla epigraph.<sup>71</sup> If so, Dora figuring in all these inscriptions is probably Dora II, father of Pota II, and Dora of Chintapalle inscription,<sup>72</sup> Perhaps Dora III. son of Pota II Dorabhupa, son of Pota II figuring as king in a Gudimetta inscription, with no date is identical with Dora II. The record from Muppālla, with date lost mentions a servant of the Chagi family.

Like the second Kolanu dynasty Indulury family, a family of the Sagis of Vipparla gotra was in the service of the Kakatiyas from the time of Ganapati. Like the Kolanus, the Sagis distinguished themselves in the wars of the Kakatiyas. A few records of the Kakatiyas and Markandeyapurnama by Marana and Muslim histories give us the history of the Sagis, whose relationship to the main branch at Gudimetta is not known.

The earliest member known so far is general Malla<sup>73</sup> born in the fourth caste. He is described as valiant and charitable. His son was Nagadeva or Nagabhupati who lives towards the close of the reign of Ganapati and beginning of Rudrama's. As feudatory of the Kakatiyas, he ruled Pakanadu. His sons by Mallamambika, daughter of Mechayanayaka, a talavari of Ganapati, were Gannamanayadu, Ellayanayadu and Mechayanayadu.<sup>74</sup> Of them, Ganna was the minister and general of Prataparudra. A distinguished warrior and administrator entitled Nitiyugandhara Nagayaganna was bestowed with regal insignia by Prataparudra.<sup>75</sup> Some of his epithets, show that his services in protecting the kingdom and the capital, Kataka<sup>76</sup> against the Muslim invaders were of all in importance. But during the last Muslim invasion on warangal, it is said, that along with Prataparudra, he too was taken prisoner and forced to take to Islam. Taking the name Mallik Makbul, he served Muhammad Tughlak, as governor of Multan by about A.D. 1334. When he was posted to the rulership of Telingana. After suffering a defeat in the hands of kapayanayaka, he was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarat. He served Firozshah

as premier and was given the title *khanikaban*. He seems to have died about A.D. 1372.<sup>77</sup>

Of Baicharaju and Devarinayaningāru, the two sons of Ganna, the former was a warrior of great merit. From a few *chatu* verses<sup>78</sup> about him, some of his achievements are known. Some of his titles were, *managovindarava*, *rayarahuttaminda*, *puliyamarkoluganda*, *gandabherunda*, *ballasuratrana* etc. He won a victory over a Muslim chieftain-Gunamalkala secured the title *gandabherunda* from the rulers of Bellanki by vanquishing them in the battle. A *chatu* verse says that Gannaya Sagi Baicha with valour took prisoner Madaya of Vellanki and protected Rama, probably also of Vellanki. Probably the Rama is same as Settipalle Raghava. by subduing whom, Eaicha took the title *Ballasuratrana*. He too seems to have accepted Islam with his father and served Firozshah. Devarinayani was the viceroy of Prataparudra in Palnad.<sup>79</sup> Ellayanayaka and Mechayanayaka, brothers of Ganna, were generals under Prataparudra as seen from *Markandeyapurana*.

Sagi Macha, younger brother of Manmapota of the main branch and his descendants, do not find mention in Chagi records but only in *Ramavilasa* dedicated to vatsavayi Goparaju. Macha's son was Erapota who in his turn had two sons-Teluguraja and Ramaraja Teluguraja and Ramaraja were in the service of Prataparudra respectively.<sup>80</sup> *Ramavilasa* says that Ramaraja conquered many kings in the battlefield and was presented with mast elephants, kamkana, rubies and dancing women by them.<sup>81</sup> As Ramaraja made Vatsavaya his capital, the name Vatsavaya came to be attached to Sagivamsa.<sup>82</sup>

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## CHAPTER FOUR

# The Kondapadumatis. A.D. 1100-1282

The Giripaschimasasanas or the Kondapadumatis held the Kondapadumati or Sallapaschalya vishaya the, country to the west of the Kondavidu range of hills, Corresponding to the eastern portion of Sattenapalla taluq (of Guntur district) for one and a half centuries. They had their capital at *Nadendla* not far from Tsandavole, the Velanandu capital. To begin with, they were subordinate to the Chalukyas of Vengi and later on owed allegiance to the Chalukya Cholas. The Kondapadumatis secured an important military success over the Kalingas and the Telugu chodas and were allied to the Velanandu Chodas by marriages. A branch of the Kondapadumati family was the parichchedis of Kollipaka. There is no evidence for the statement that the Kondapadumatis were connected by blood with the Telugu chodas and the Dallavas.<sup>1</sup> It is not correct either to say that all the Velanandu queens were of the lineage<sup>2</sup> of Buddha of the Kondapadumatis.

### Origin and Early History

Those of the Kondapadumati records<sup>3</sup> except the Chabrole

one, giving the early history of the dynasty trace the Chalukyas genealogy up to Kubjavishnu and then pass on to *Buddhavarman* the first ancestor of the dynasty. But the Chebrole inscription<sup>4</sup> says that Brahma was born from the navel lotus of Vishnu, and in the caste born from the fact of Vishnu was born Buddhavarman who was valiant, served Mukkanti Kuduvatti faithfully and secured *Omgerumargatrava* from him. According to other inscriptions Buddhavarman an ornament of the fourth caste was to Kubjavishnu, as Anjaneya to Rama, Vainateya to Vishnu, served like an armour, his lord in the battlefield, and received from him the country to the west of the hill which contained seventy three villages along with royal emblems. As Kubjavishnu, the founder of the chalukyas of Vengi flourished between A.D. 615 to 633, his subordinate Buddhavarman must have flourished in that period. Buddhavarman's allegiance to Hukkant Kaduvetti does not help us to fix his chronology for the historicity of Trilochanapallava—though the epigraphist<sup>5</sup> ascribes him to the 6th century of A.D.—is still a problem in south Indian History. Buddhavarman kingdom—Giripaschima vishaya comprising trisapati villages—formed the beginnings of the Kondapadumati kingdom. Probably Orugenemargatrava formed part of the Kondapadumati kingdom.

No immediate successors of Buddhavarman find place in the Kondapadumati records till we come to Manda I. The Tsandavole inscription says “after some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Manda I, the crest ornament of the rulers of Provinces.”<sup>6</sup> Similar statements are found in other records of the dynasty. Perhaps the insignificant intermediaries between Buddhavarman and Manda I continued in the service of the Chalukyas and as rulers of Kondapadumati and Ongerumargatrava.

### MANDA I. A.D. 1114—1118

During the five centuries between A.D. 633 and 1114—the last and the first dates of Buddhavarman and Manda I respectively—south India and Vengi experienced great political changes. The Chola and the Eastern Chalukya crowns were:

united by A.D. 1070 in Kulottunga I. By the time of Manda I Vengi was a Chola viceroyalty under Vikrama chola.<sup>7</sup> Naturally the Kondapadumatis were loyal to the Chalukyacholas in this period.

The earliest record<sup>8</sup> of Manda I is from Pakalapadu, with date A.D. 111 and the 45th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulottunga chodadeva. It mentions the king as the lord of Kondapadumara, who is Manda I though His name is lost in the record. Manda's inscription from Bapatla dated A.D. 1117 mentions a Reddi of Kondapedumati Mavundala and the Gandhavaranamadas<sup>9</sup>. The last inscription of Manda's reign is from Chebrole<sup>10</sup> where he is mentioned as Erramanda and his premier was Sura, who and his brothers acquired some important victories over Betamandalikasanghamun, and the enemy at Bezavada and over some hill tribes. The record mentions lord Panda whose identity and relationship to Manda I is not known.

### Manda I's Political Relations

The kingdom of Manda. I is mentioned as Samrajya and he issued coins by A.D. 1117 for Gandhavaranamade is after one of his epithets-Gandhavarana. By A.D. 1118, Sura claims to have won victories over a conspiracy of kings headed by Beta at Bezvada and was rewarded with palanquin etc. by the king.<sup>11</sup> This Beta may be Beta<sup>12</sup> or Betma of the Kakatiyas, a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas of Kalyani on whom Hanumakonda was conferred in A.D. 1117.<sup>12</sup> More probably Beta is Chagi Beta,<sup>13</sup> the founder of the Palnad Haihaya dynasty whose reign lasted from A.D. 1103 to 1110 and whose successor Virakama (A.D. 1111-1118) was the strict contemporary of Manda I on the Haihaya throne. As there is no evidence of Beta's death in A.D. 1110. he could have headed the enemy of the Kondapadumatis at Bezavada before A.D. 1118. Why this battle occurred and who the associates of Beta were is not known. As this was the period of the expansion of the Western Chalukyan power into Vengi under Vikramaditya and his generals and as the early Haihayas Beta and Vikrama were allies of the Chalukyas, the Chalukyan armies with the Haihaya and perhaps

Chagi and Natavadi rulers, on their march, were obstructed at Bezvada from entering the Kondapadumati Kingdom by Manda I, Panda, Sura and his brothers and were vanquished. It is likely that Gonka I and Choda I participated on the side of Manda I. The Kunnulu and bondalu defeated by Sura, probably refer to some forest tribes. As Manda is not heard of after A.D. 1118, probably he died in the battle, and the figure of Sura—the hero of the battle was carved by a sculptor.<sup>14</sup> According to a Velanandu inscription<sup>15</sup> dated A.D. 1132, Kapa, lord of Tumbarti was in the service of Erramanda, and at his command defeated the enemy kings at Manneru and was rewarded with the title—Mandanagandhavarana, and lordship of Tumbarru and Atukur. Entitled Aniyanka bhima and Chathurtha kulakesi, Kapa had secured another victory at the instance of Manda while Singana, Sevana, Jagadeva, and choda were witnessing. The place of the victory is not mentioned. These successes of Kapa must have taken place prior to A.D. 1118 along with those of Sura. The victories of Kapa and Sura formed a single campaign in which the battles at Bezvada and Manneru were won by A.D. 1118. of the four chiefs—Sevana, Singana, Jagadeva, and choda who sided Manda, choda is either Vikrama chola or Velananti choda I, Sevana was a yadava ruler perhaps of Devagiri and Jagadeva probably a Teluguchola. Sindapanayaka an ancestor of Kapa received regal ensigns from Buddhavarman. the ancestor of the Kondapadumatis.

King Manda I was a subordinate of Kulottunga I and his earliest inscription is dated in the 45th year of the emperor.<sup>16</sup> His loyalty to the Cholas continued throughout his reign which is evidenced by his fighting and vanquishing the Chalukyas and their subordinates at Bezvada.

### BUDDHAVARMAN AND GANDA. A.D. 1118- 25

Manda I had two sons Buddhavarman entitled Kladaya-simha, and Ganda or Gandana. These two sons seem to have succeeded Manda ruled from A.D. 1118 The last date for Manda I and A.D. 1125-the earliest date for Manda II, son of

**Ganda.** No inscriptions of this reign are available. Buddha-varman is mentioned as Buddhanarendra and is said to have been valiant, Buddha's son was Manda and Ganda's son was Desati Panda, the ruler of Sahateahasravani.<sup>17</sup>

Manda's father according to one inscription,<sup>18</sup> was Buddha who bore the Kondapadumati prasasti-some of the titles being-mahamandalesvara kulottunga choda divyasripada badmaradhaka, Eladayasimha, sahasoitunga, Anankabhima, moon to the milk ocean i.e. Durjaya family and Giripaschimasasana.

### MANDA II. A.D. 1125-1130

The earliest inscription<sup>19</sup> of Manda is from Madala dated A.D. 1125 and mentions Manda's subordinate Mandenayaka and his two younger brothers Pandanayaka and Sadenayaka. Another record at Madala also dated A.D. 1125 mentions king Manda and his subordinate Mandanayaka. So Mandanayaka is not king Manda as has been supposed by the Government epigraphist.<sup>20</sup> Manda's record dated A.D. 1125 mentions Mahanaminayadu, lord of Mavundala and Kanchipura and bearer of some of the Kondapadumati opithets.<sup>21</sup> Manda's next inscription dated A.D. 1129 is from Madala and his latest inscription is from Nadendla<sup>22</sup> dated A.D. 1130 mentioning the king as Manmamanda, a vassal of Kulottunga. Manda II had the epithet Aniyankabhima, vanquished the armies of the Ganga king of Kalinga and presented to Rajendra choda, the elephants captured in the war.<sup>23</sup> The Tsandavole inscription refers to the valour of Manda II.<sup>24</sup>

### Manda II's Political Relations

The chola emperor was Vikrama chola and Manda's loyalty to him is attested by his inscriptions. In one of his records, he appears as a vassal of Kulottunga, and in another he is said to have presented spoils of war to Rajendra choda. Here Kulottunga and Rajendra chola refer to emperor Vikramachola. (A.D. 1120 1133).

Manda came into conflict with the armies of Anantavarman choda Ganga (A.D.1078—1146), the Ganga emperor of Kalinga.

"Having torn up like a mound the army of the Ganga (king) of Kalinga, having consumed like straw the warriors of the bold enemy and having cut off (like) lotuses, their heads-the mighty rutting elephant mandalika Manda is roaring. Having defeated the army of the enemy he gave to Rajendra choda."<sup>25</sup> This battle between the Kondapadumatis and the Gangas must have taken place prior to A.D. 1130-the last year of Manda II. Towards the close of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th, Anantavarman was making efforts towards expansion into Vengi and he was assisted in his object by Vikramaditya VI<sup>26</sup> morally if not materially and the condition of Vengi under Choda I, after the departure of Vikrama choda from Vengi for the chola country was also convenient. By A.D. 1128 Anantavarman and his queens visited Draksharama and made gifts to Bhimesvara.<sup>27</sup> So at Draksharama Choda I had to face the enemy about A.D. 1128. By this time the Cholas and the Velanandus were recovering the tracts north of the Godavari which they lately lost to the chalukyas. So it was here in the battle at Draksharama that Manda II distinguished himself by routing the enemy and capturing their elephants which he presented to his overlord Rajendra chola i.e. Vikramachola who must have been present on the battle at the time. Rajendra choda cannot refer to Velanandu choda I who was also a subordinate of the cholas and was fighting on their behalf as Manda II was, and consequently the statement "Manda...was a military officer under Velananti Rajendra choda and who on behalf of his master appears to have fought a battle with the Gangas of Kalinga."<sup>28</sup> falls to ground. Besides, Manda who vanquished the Gangas is not Manda I as supposed by the Epigraphist but Manda II. So this war with Kalinga was defensive led by Vikrama chola and choda I of the Velanandus, in which as subordinate of the Cholas Nanda I took a leading role.

Besides the Nayaka chiefs who were on the service of Manda II, the Mandadi chiefs also were dependents of Manda II. Prola, second son of Kondagadi Kota malla, and grandson of Matta claims to have obtained the chieftainship of the:

Giripaschima district through the favour of Manda, i.e. Manda II.<sup>29</sup>

### **BUDHARAJA A.D. 1130—1132**

Son of Manda II and Kondambika,<sup>30</sup> Buddharaja had a brief reign of two years from A.D. 1130-the last year of Manda II. No records of his are available, and the records of choda, his son by Badambika, are known from A.D. 1132.

### **CHODA RAJU A.D. 1132—35**

Like his father's, choda's reign too was short. His earliest inscription<sup>31</sup> dated A.D. 1132 is from Nadendla, wherein he is mentioned as Mahamandalesvara Chodaraja. Choda bore the usual Kondapadumati prasasti in another record dated A.D. 1132 also from Nadandla.<sup>32</sup> Another record of his also of the initial year of his reign is at Nadendla. The last inscription of choda is from Triapadu<sup>33</sup> dated A.D. 1135 and gives the prasasti which is exactly the same as in one of the Nadendla inscriptions noted above, except that Choda is mentioned here as a bee at the devine feet of Kulottunga chodadeva and a sahasottunga where as in the others it is said that his (choda's) hair is covered by the dust of the devine feet of Kulottunga chodadeva.

### **Choda's Political Relations**

Nothing of significance had occurred in choda's reign. The chola emperor was Kulottunga II to whom choda's loyasltly is seen from his inscriptions dated A.D. 1132 and 1135 giving his prasastis. The Velanandu contemporary of choda was Gonka II, the most celebrated of the Velanandu kings with whom choda must have maintained amicable relations. The Kona-mandala was under Mummadi Bhima II and Satya I<sup>34</sup> with whom choda does not seem to have come into conflict.

### **MANMAMANDA III. A.D. 1135—1139**

Manmamanda III was the son of Buddha by Gadiyamadevi, daughter of Meda and Medamamba. His earliest inscription<sup>35</sup> dated A.D. 1135 is from Islapadu registering some gift by his

officer Somanapreggada. It mentions the king as Mandalika Manda who belonged to the family of the Durjayas and was the lord of the country west of the hill. Manda's next inscription is from Kavuru<sup>36</sup> in Kondapedumati country, with date A.D. 1137, His record at Nadandla is dated A.D. 1138 and the records<sup>37</sup> there dated A.D. 1139 were issued in the last year of his rule, In one of his records of A.D. 1139 Manda is mentioned as the subordinate of Kulottunga choda i.e. emperor Kulottunga II.

### **Manda's Political Relations**

Manda was loyal to Kulottunga II and was an ally of Gonka II of the Velanandus. He must have assisted Kulottunga II and Gonka II in their efforts to end the chalukyan sway in Vengi.

### **MALLERAJA. A.D. 1139—1149**

Son of Manda III and Kundambika, Malleraja/ruled the kondapadumati kingdom for a decade from A.D. 1139. The earliest inscription<sup>38</sup> of the reign is from Nadendla dated A.D. 1143 and mentions Buddharaja, brother of Maheraja, and his wife Gundamadevi. From a record dated A.D. 1145 at Chebrole mahamandalesvara Pandya and his father Bhimaraja are known. The relationship of this father and son to Malleraja is not known. A record from Vaddavalli dated A.D. 1145 mentions Kondapanayaka, lord of Tanirumbariti and his father Maddenayaka. In his record<sup>39</sup> from Nadendla dated A.D. 1147 Malleraja bore the usual Kondapadumati prasasti along with the title-Giripaschimasasana.

### **His Political Relations**

Malleraja's reign lasted up to A.D. 1149-the earliest date for Manda IV. Probably Malla associated Buddha in the governance of the kingdom from A.D. 1143. This Buddha is heard of from another inscription at Nadendla, dated A.D. 1148, as Mahamandalesvara Kondapadumeti Buddharaja.<sup>40</sup> Like his predecessors, Malleraja probably continued his allegiance to Kulottunga II the Chola emperor and maintained friendly

relations with Velanandu Gonka II.

### MANDA AND BUDDHA A.D. 1149—1173

Buddharaja continued to rule and Malleraja's place was taken by his son Manda IV. From two records at Madala one dated A.D. 1149 and the other undated, a Mandenayaka is heard of.<sup>41</sup> No doubt he was a subordinate to the Kondapadumati kings-Manda and Buddha, King Manderaja and his wife kundama figure in the Nadendla inscription dated A.D. 1150. The next record of the reign is dated A.D. 1152 from Madala. Kondapanayaka of Tanirumbariti is mentioned in the Vaddavalli epigraph dated A.D. 1156 King Buddharaja made grants at Draksharama in A.D. 1165 and the 20th year of Rajaraja.<sup>42</sup> The subordinate chiefs-Harayana, son of Pedaprolinayadu, lord of Sirivrolu, and brother of Mandadi Prolinayaka, a Reddi lord of Verur and Namma made some grants in the kondapadumati country. Buddha and his brother Manderaju made grants at Nadendla in A.D. 1171.<sup>43</sup> An inscription of that year mentions Gundamadevi, the agramahishi of Buddharaja. His inscription at Tsandavole<sup>44</sup> dated A.D. 1171 as of political significance for it records that Akkama, sister of Buddha, was the wife of Velananti Rajendra Choda II. Mandans, the smatya and Dandanatha of king Manda IV, and son of Somanapreggada figures in a record at Lingamgunta, dated A.D. 1172.<sup>45</sup> The last record of the reign is that of king Manda dated A.D. 1173 from Nadendla.<sup>46</sup>

### Political Relations of Buddha and Manda

Buddha and Manda IV had a reign of twenty-five years-the longest in Kondapadumati history. The contemporary Chola emperor was Rajaraja II and the loyalty of Kondapadumatis to him in this reign is evident from the only record of the dynasty at Draksharama dated A.D. 1165 and the 20th year of Rajaraja II.<sup>47</sup> The Velanandu choda ruler was Choda II whose wife was a sister of Buddha. Besides, choda II had the title-Durjaya-kulaprakara and the Kondapadumatis ~~were~~ Durjayas. So peaceful relations must have prevailed between the Kondapadumatis and the Velanandus in this period

which is attested by Buddha's inscription at Tsandavole, the Velanandu capital. The Kaifiyat of Tsandavole<sup>48</sup> attributes the persecution of Mallikarjuna Panditarodhya to King Buddha, which Somanatha attributes to Choda II. The friendship between Buddha and Choda II is further supported by the existence of the records<sup>49</sup> of the latter in the former's kingdom.

Kota Dodda Bhima<sup>50</sup> and Rachura Daraparaju in A.D. 1166.<sup>51</sup> and the epithet-Buddha Kulakuddala i.e. the axe to the race of Buddha. The epigraphist says "this— title suggests that the chief must have pleased the Kondapadumati chiefs who claimed descent from Buddhavarman."<sup>52</sup> This seems to gain support from the fact that no immediate sons and successors of Buddha and Manda are known for about fifteen years after the end of the reign. This event perhaps marks the beginnings of the decline of the Kondapadumati kingdom which was ultimately to be replaced by the Kota dynasty.

#### A.D. 1173-1186

No descendants of Manda and Buddha are known and no Kondapadumati inscriptions are found during the period from from A.D. 1173-the last year for Buddha and Manda and A.D. 1186—the earliest date for a Kondapadumati Manda.

#### MANDA. A.D. 1186

An inscription at Chebrole<sup>53</sup> dated A.D. 1186 mentions king Manda's parents-the ruler of Kondapadumati and Bimbamba. It is not known how this Manda is related to the main branch of the Kondapadumatis and how long his rule lasted.

#### PANDA. A.D. 1213

A Panda seems to have been ruling about A.D. 1213. None of his records are available. He is known from a Kona kandravadi record.<sup>54</sup> in which Bhima had the title-Pandiyani-rjita . Buddhavarmanvuyavidva-the rest of which is mutilated. So Panda, of the lineage of Buddhavarma, was vanquished by the Kondkandravadi chief Bhima. Perhaps, this Panda was a son of Manda of A.D. 1186.

**BETARAJA. A.D. 1242**

Kondapadumati Betaraja and his servant are heard of from an inscription, dated A.D. 1242.<sup>55</sup> The king was a subordinate of Kulottunga choda deva. The Chola emperor in A.D. 1242 was Rajaraja III. So Kulottunga, here, must refer to Rajaraja III, provided that the epithet is not a simple repetition from the Kondapadumati prasasti. As the earliest date for Beta's successor was A.D. 1250, Beta's reign may have extended till that year.

**GANAPAMADEVA MAHARAJA. A.D. 1250**

We hear of a mahamandalesvara Murari Ganapamadeva maharaja of the Kondapadumati family from an epigraph at Triprantakam dated A.D. 1250.<sup>56</sup> The identity of this prince is not known.

**LATER KONDAPADUMATIS. A.D. 1252—1282**

A Manmaraja of the Kondapadumatis is heard of from an inscription dated A.D. 1252. A Ganapama of Venukulagotra<sup>57</sup> and her husband figure in a record at Velpur dated A.D. 1262. In A.D. 1282 Devinayand Errama nayadu, grandson of Buddhavarman and his nephew Potyayadu are known from a record at Madala.<sup>58</sup> This Buddhavarman is called the guardian of Kanchipura, bore some of the Kondapadumati epithets and belonged to Valaratla gotra. From another record of A.D. 1282 at Madala,<sup>59</sup> Erramanayaka and his cousin Chodinayaka, who were descendants of Buddhavarman are heard of. Perhaps Erramanayadu and Erramanayaka are identical. But the identification of Buddhavarman of these records with the early ancestor of the Kondapadumatis does not stand the test of chronology.

From two records<sup>60</sup> dated A.D. 1277 and 1286 some Durjaya chiefs being Kondapadumati titles are heard of and they were in the service of Kakatiya Rudrama, styled in one of her records as Prataparudradeva maharaja<sup>61</sup> Surapa, Potaya and Maraya, were the sons of Potinayadu; and Potaya and Maraya had the titles-ornament of the Durjaya family of Velarutla gotra protector of Kanchi, demolisher of Kataka, the lion to

the elephant i.e. Gajapati, the bee at the lotus feet of the Chalukyas of Vengi and the central pillar in the administration of the Chalukya kingdom.

The descent of Panda of A.D. 1145, referred to already is as follows-Ganda was born in the family of Buddhavarman who secured Orngerumargatraya from Mukkanti kaduvetti. Ganda's son was Desati Panda. His son was Bhima who received Panchinikurru from the lord of Andhra. Bhima's son was Ganda, whose son by Medama was Manda whose son by Burama was Bhimaraju. Bhima's son by Eriyamba was Pandaya, a mahamandalesvara.<sup>62</sup>

Some of the Kondapadumatis who are yet unidentified are as follows :- Mahamandalesvara Buddharaja is mentioned in an undated inscription at Nadendla,<sup>63</sup> Manmamandayaraju,<sup>64</sup> subordinate of Kulottunga Choda, choda raja<sup>65</sup> Manmachoda raja,<sup>66</sup> are mentioned in three undated inscriptions at Nadendla. Besides, a son of Chodabhupa, a descendant of Buddhavarman is heard from a record at Bezvada. Manmamanda his younger brothers Choderaju, Buddharaja and Malleraju, the father of Mandaraju were all vassals of Kulottunga choda. A Kondapadumati Rudradeva<sup>67</sup> was allied with kakatiya Ganapati by marriage alliance.

### **End of Kondapadumatis**

The Kondapadumatis as a power ended with Buddha and Manda in A.D. 1173 though some Kondapadumati princes were ruling in parts of the kingdom till A.D. 1250. The kingdom was lost to the Kotas of Dhanyakataka. The Kondapadumatis had their own coinage<sup>68</sup> and were independent for all internal purposes. The later Kondapadumatis were subordinate to the kakatiyas to whom the Kotas probably owed allegiance. The Kondapadumatis were also referred to simply as the padamati or western chiefs and their kingdom was the country to the west of the Krishna in its course southward to the sea.<sup>69</sup>

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54. 326 & 326—A of 1893 : S.I.I. IV 780, 781.
55. 721 of 1920.
56. 226 of 1905.
57. 349 of 1937-38
58. 346 of 1937-38.
59. 309 of 1932-33.
60. A.R. 1915-16. Part II para 52 Nos. 333 & 367 of App. A
61. 401 of 1914. A.R. 1915 II para 52.
62. 146 of 1897P S.I.I. VI 103.
63. 397 of 1915.
64. 398 of 1915.
65. 220 of 1892 : S I.I. IV 670.
66. 221 of 1892 . S.I.I. IV 671.
67. 279 of 1892 : S.I.I. IV 780.
68. 232 of 1897 : S.I.I. VI 195.
69. Nellore Gazetteer p. 41.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# The Kotas (A.D. 1100-1270)

The Kotas ruled over the Shatsahasra-the Velandndu six thousand country on the southern bank of river Krishna<sup>1</sup> as a defecto independent power for over a century and a half-from the beginning of the 12th to the last quarter of the 13th Century A.D. They were the political successors of the Kondapadumatis and their kingdom was larger in extent, greater in resources and strength than the Kondapadumati kingdom. The main branch of the Kotas ruled with its capital at Dhanyakataka<sup>2</sup> and as many as four collateral branches exercised sway contemporaneously and not as rivals with capitals at Yenamadala,<sup>3</sup> Tripurantakam, Tadikonda and Draksharama. All the Kotas bore a common prasasti claiming to be the rulers of Shatsahasra, lords of Dhanya vati and devotees of Amaresvera at Amaravati. At its highest, the Kota, kingdom touched Tripurantakam on the west, Draksharama on the east and Nellore district on the south. The Kotas owed allegiance to the Chalukyan Cholas in the beginning and to the Kakatiyas towards the end. They held an important place in South India of the times and Vengi in particular. The Kotas acquired important political victories and their prasasti was imperialistic. The popularity of the kota rule is attested by recorded tradition, besides the permanent marks of their rule left in the form of records, literature and architecture.

## The Sources and Importance of the Kotas

Inscriptions in abundance—all stone records except the single copper plate grant<sup>4</sup> bearing the kota seal-form the main source for the political history of the Kotas. Recorded tradition, story lines in literature and inscriptions of the contemporary dynasties are valuable as corroboratory evidence.

The supreme importance of the Kotas may be gauged by the eagerness with which the Kakatiyas, the Chagis, the Velanandus, the Konakandravadis, the Kondapdumatis and the Haihayas of Palnad sought alliances of marriage with them. The prefix Kota, borne by all the members of the dynasty is after the chief capital, the celebrated Dharanikota popularly known as Kota. The Kota seal bore the crest-Gandabharunda.<sup>5</sup> It may be noted that tradition has stamped the Kotas as the Jain kings or Jain Kinglets of Amaravati which is a mis-statement.

## Origin of the Dynasty

In the fourth caste i.e. chaturthanvaya<sup>6</sup> born from the feet of Vishnu is said to have been born prince Dhanamjaya. His birth is compared to that of the moon from the Ocean, Brahma from the Lotus and Kalpa tree from Mount Neru.<sup>7</sup> Nothing more is known of Dhanamjaya except that he was the conqueror of the armies of the terrible enemies, who are not specified. But as the Kotas claim to have been born in Dhanamjaya gotra, Dhanamjaya may be taken to have been an eponymous ancestor of theirs invented from the Gotra. Consequently the statements firstly that Dharanikota Dhananjaya was a contemporary and feudatory of Trilochanapallava<sup>8</sup> and secondly that he was one of the kings who ruled at Dharanikota in the 13th Century A.D.<sup>9</sup> are valueless.

One of the titles in the Kota Prasasti<sup>10</sup> means that the Kotas were the lords of Shatsahasra on the southern bank of the Krishna conferred on them by the king Trinayanapallava. It is not possible to see who this Kota prince was that served Trinayana Pallava of doubtful historicity or whether he too was a semi-mythical figure.

**BETA I. A. D. 1050—1081 or 1091**

Beta is the first Kota king we hear of, after Dhananjaya. The Pedamakkana<sup>11</sup> inscription says that in Dhananjaya gotra, after several kings, was born prince Beta the only record of Beta is at Vungutur<sup>12</sup> with no date, mentioning him as mahamanddalesvara Beta and records some victories of his subordinate Kamaboyi. The epigraphist<sup>13</sup> mentions Beta of the Pedamakkena inscription as Pota.

**His Political Relations**

Beta may be placed about A.D. 1050 as the earliest date for his son Ganda seems to be A.D. 1081<sup>14</sup> and the definite date for his grandson Bhima is A.D. 1108<sup>15</sup> we do not know how Beta came in possession of a kingdom. But he seems to have had some troubles in asserting his power in the beginning. The Dedamakkona inscription says that Kamaboyi went with Parvadi Reva to the open ground of Garlapadu, threatened Bomma Reddi, killed Bhimaraju and died after fighting with great prowess Bhimaraju and Bommareddi must have been some local rebel leaders who were subdued by Parvadi Reva, a general of Beta and Kamaboyi at the cost of the life of the latter at Garlapadu. Beta does not seem to have experienced any more trouble for the rest of his reign which may be taken to have lasted till A.D. 1081 or 1091 when he was succeeded by his son Gondabhupati.

**GANDA A.D. 1061 or 1091—1108**

Ganda was the son of Beta, according to the Pedamakkena inscription. No dated records of his reign are available. His only inscription is from Vengipuram<sup>16</sup> in which only the last digit-3 of the date portion is legible. Provisionally the date may be taken to be s(100)3 or s(101)3 corresponding to A.D. 1081 or 1091 respectively. Ganda's reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1108, the earliest date for Bhima. No political achievements of Ganda nor any events of the reign are known.

## **BHIMA I. A.D. 1108-A.D. 1127.**

With Bhima alias Mummadi Bhima, according to the Padamakkena inscription, the chronology of the Kota dynasty becomes more definite. Bhima's earliest inscription is from Velhpur,<sup>17</sup> dated A.D. 1108, mentions Kota Bhima and Gonka and refers to the former's conquest of the Kalingan king whom he subordinated to Choda. The relationship between Bhima and Gonka is not apparent. Another inscription, damaged and undated, seems to refer to king Bhima.<sup>18</sup> His reign may have lasted till A.D. 1127—the earliest date for his successor, Beta. The suggested identity of Bhima with Mummaddeva of Draksharama branch of the Kotas is untenable on chronological grounds for both are separated by a century.

### **His Political Relations**

Bhima's Kalingan conquest was achieved by A.D. 1108—the date of his Velpur inscription. This must have occurred when he participated in the first Kalingan war against Anantavarman chodaganga undertaken by Vikramachola in A.D. 1090—the Chola viceroy of Vengi in the reign of Kulottunga I. The Choda to whom Bhima claims to have made the king of Kalinga a subordinate refers to either Kulottunga I or Vikrama chola to whom the Ganga king consequent on the Chola victory appears to have become a subject for a time<sup>19</sup> as attested by this Kota as well as some Ganga records at Draksharama. Thus Kota Bhima owed allegiance to the Chola emperor Kulottunga and loyally served his master and distinguished himself in the Kalingan war along with many other local rulers in Vengi. His assistance to the Cholas in subduing the Kalinga may be a reference to his part in the first or the second war.<sup>20</sup> Nothing is known of any events in the latter part of his reign.

## **BETARAJA II. A.D. 1127-1148.**

Beta succeeded Bhima on the Kota throne but his relationship to either Bhima or his son Ganda is not known. His earliest inscription, dated A.D. 1127<sup>21</sup> comes from Chinnagarlapadu in Palnad taluq (of Guntur District). It records that

Gundi Reddi, an ornament of Panchamanvaya and bearer of some titles and his son Mallapayya died at Pattadlavidu after securing victory for Betaraja. An inscription at Amaravati dated A.D. 1129 mentions Kamana preggada of Rayuru. Mahamandalesvara Kotanayaka guring in a Madala inscription dated A.D. 1129 is probably Beta.<sup>22</sup> Mahamandalesvara Kotaraja figures in a record at Kollur dated A.D. 1148, which consequently must be taken to be the last year for Betaraju.

### Beta's Political Relations

The victories of Gundi Reddi and Nallapayya, the servants of Beta over the enemies at Pattadlavidu remind us of the victories of Parvadi Reva and Kamaboyi at Garlapadu in the reign of Beta I. In the present instance, the enemies are not specified. Perhaps Beta's armies attacked the Chalukyan armies, manned by great generals, and supported by some of the local rulers in Vengi, on their onward progress and vanquished them. Probably Pattadlavidu is identical with Patlavidu in the Palnad taluq (Guntur District). The Kota victory secured at the cost of the lives of the father and son, was significant as it prevented the Chalukyan armies from intruding into the kingdom.

In this period a branch of the Kotas is found ruling the track about Draksharama. Beta's contemporary there was Kota Vinjampotaraju whose date is A.D. 1140.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps Beta was on friendly relations with this Kota prince whose relationship to the main line is not known.

### BETA I A.D. 1148-1156

The relationship of Kota to Beta whom he succeeded on the throne is not apparent. His earliest inscription is from Kelpur,<sup>24</sup> dated A.D. 1148 mentioning him as mahamandalesvara Kebaraja. None of his records issued after that date are available. But the upper limit of his reign may be fixed as A.D. 1156, the earliest date for his son and successor Bhima. Keta seems to have had a peaceful and eventless reign, for by this time the Chola suzerainty was completely restored in Vengi and the local kingdom had no trouble from the Chalukyas.

**BHIMA II AD 1156-1188**

Bhima was the first well known ruler of the dynasty of the Kotas. Most of the records of his son Keta begin with Bhima an omitting the earlier kota rulers. Bhima's earliest inscription is from Velpur,<sup>25</sup> dated A.D. 1156 mentioning Bhima and Rajendra Chola. Two inscriptions<sup>26</sup> at Gudipudi dated A.D. 1160 mention Kotapanna Yaka, Mahamandalesvara Kota Gandaparaja and his wife Bhuramadevi figure in a record at Pedanakkanal dated A.D. 1160.<sup>27</sup> In another record there, dated A.D. 1175 the achievements of Gandapa over general kanma, Uddandaraya, yoddiya Beta, Kendiya, Siddhi choda and Mallachoda are enumerated.<sup>28</sup> This Gandapa was the chief resident of Inter in Velanandu Vishaya. In an undated record at Amaravati, Bhima is mentioned as kota-Dodda Bhimaraja bearing the Kota prasasti which includes of many politically significant titles.<sup>29</sup> Though no records of Bhima are available after A.D. 1175, his reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1182—the first year for his son Keta. Bhima II is taken to have been same as his grandson Bhima III by some writers,<sup>30</sup> which is wrong; and also as son of Keta I.

Bhima's relationship to Gonda is not apparent. Perhaps Gonda, the son of a Chodaraja was a prominent person in the kingdom from A.D. 1160 and associate ruler till A.D. 1175 and played a significant role in the affairs of the state. Bhima, in later records, is compared to Indra and is spoken of as a great warrior, and destroyer of enemies, their armies and forts.<sup>31</sup> His popular rule is attested by records and local Kaifiyats of Pulivarru, Vallur and Pedaganjam.<sup>32</sup> Bhima and Kota are mentioned in an undated record at Amaravati.

**Bhima's Political Achievements**

As noted already, Ganda had significant achievements by A.D. 1175. Dodda Bhima is Bhima II's prasasti has the following epithets Kommanadandanakyakasirahchcadana, chidpulivadhumangalasutrahara, chaunadarayachanuramurtaka, yuriyabetamatta matengasimha, choda kataka samantavenkova, Siddhichodamrigasardula, Mallayachoda

mastakasula, Buddahkula kuddāla pregnant with political significance-besides others referring to his capacities as a warrior.<sup>33</sup> Putting together the successes of Bhima and Ganda, it appears that Bhima in extending the bounds of his kingdom and in defending it from enemies, came into contact either as a friend or as an enemy with the contemporary kingdoms, defeated some and allied with others.

### **Bhima's Political Relations**

The Chola emperors in this period were Rajaraja II (A.D. 1150-1163) and Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1163-1179). Bhima's allegiance to the Cholas is evidenced from his inscriptions. His earliest record mentions Rajendra chola probably identical with Rajaraja II. The Kaifiyat of Pedaganjam mentions that "Kota Bhima ruled over those parts but his kingdom was conquered by Kulottunga Chola. The Chola king ruled till's 1099.<sup>34</sup> The date of the conquest is not given it is not possible to see how Bhima, a subordinate of the Cholas brought on himself the wrath of the Chola emperor, resulting in the occupation of his kingdom. Kulottunga was probably Kulottunga II whose rule began in A.D. 1178. Much value may be attached to this invasion of Kulottunga into the Kota territories as it is supported by inscriptions. Probably Bhima rebelled and was subdued by Kulottunga I and remained to the Cholas for the rest of his reign. His loyalty to the Cholas is attested by his title — chodakatasamantabhenkolva.

### **Bhima and the Velanandu Chodas**

The contemporaries of Bhima at Tsandavole were Gonka II, Choda II and Gonka III. The Kotas and the Velanandu Chodas were on terms of political alliance strengthened by marriage alliances. Sabbama, wife of Bhima, was the daughter of Choda II and sister of Gonka II, not daughter of Choda I and sister of Gonka II as has been wrongly supposed.<sup>35</sup> This fact is found repeated quite often in the Kota as well as Velanandu Choda inscriptions. At the close of Choda II's reign and the beginning of Gonka III's Bhima took part in the civil war in Palnad along with the Velanandus. It is likely that Bhima

enjoyed the support of the Velanandu chodas in the campaigns—especially against the Telugu chodas and others; as in earlier days Bhima and his predecessors helped the Velanandu chodas against their enemies.

### **Bhima and the Kondapadumatis**

The Kondapadumati contemporaries of Bhima were Buddha III and Manda IV the joint rulers the last dates for whom were A.D. 1172 and 1173 respectively. One of the titles of Bhima is Buddhakulakuddala<sup>36</sup> which implies his extirpation of the Kondapadumati dynasty. This is supported by the fact that Buddha and Manda are not heard of after A.D. 1173 and no sons and immediate successors of them are ever heard. This expedition of Bhima into the Kondapadumati kingdom must have taken place before A.D. 1175 in which probably he was assisted by Rachura Daraparaju, who also bore the epithet—Buddhakulakuddala.<sup>35</sup> The expedition resulted in the annexation of the Kondapadumati territories permanently to the Kota kingdom. Thus the Kotas became the political successors of the kondapadumatis and two princess of the Kondapadumatis were queens of Kota, son of Bhimai, and the Kondapadumati kingdom was merged into the Kota kingdom.

### **Bhima and the Haihayas of Palnad :**

The Haihaya ruler in Palnad was Nalagama in this period. The civil war between him and his step brothers lasted from A.D. 1178 to 1185. Bhima and his son sided Nalagama in this war. Probably reason for this was that Bhima was related to Velanandu Choda II and Gonka III, who were related, in their turn, to Nalagama. The Kotas and the Haihayas were political allies. For, Bhima was one of the kings to whom invitations were sent by Nalagama to come and join him at Kerempudi with their armies.<sup>38</sup> Bhima promptly responded by sending armies under the lead of prince Kota. Kota was one of the ambassadors sent by Nalagama to pedamallideva, Bhima does not seem to have survived the battle of Karempudi as his last date was A.D. 1182,

### **Bhima and the Telugu Cholas**

The Telugu Chola contemporaries of Bhima were Nanni Choda II (A.D. 1151-1160) and Kamana Choda (A.D. 1160-1187) at Kondidena Somesvara (A.D. 1157 and Mallideva III A.D. 1157) and Mallideva IV at Pottapi, and M.P. C. Siddha (A.D. 1175-1192) at Nellore. Bhima and the Telugu cholas were enemies to one another. Bhima and Ganda claim successes over the Telugu choda princes and their kingdoms which must have been achieved by A.D. 1175<sup>39</sup> the date of Ganda's inscription mentioning them. The Telugu Cholas were the enemies of the Velanandu Chodas in this period. Bhima came into conflict with them in extending his kingdom and his expedition into their kingdom was a great success though not followed by acquisition of territories as in the case of his Kondapadumati expedition.

One of the titles of Bhima implies his conquest of Chidpuli.<sup>40</sup> And it has been proved by Professor Sastri that "Citpuli was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom.....(and) sitpulinadu (was) between Venkatagiri and Gudur (Rapur taluq) under the Telugu chodas."<sup>41</sup> "So Bhima invaded chidpulinadu evidently included in the Nellore chola kingdom under Siddhi-perhaps provincial Governor and killed its ruler whose name is not mentioned. Yuriya Beta of Bhima's inscriptions and Yoddiya Beta of Ganda's record are probably identical and may refer to a Telugu Chola prince whom Bhima and Ganda vanquished. If so, this Beta may have been the ruler of chidpulinadu and identical with Beta, the younger brother of king Siddhi and lost his life in the Kota hands. Again, both Bhima and Ganda claim to have vanquished Siddhi choda.<sup>42</sup> This Siddhi chola, undoubtedly a Telugu chola has been identified with Siddhi, son of Bijjana of the Telugu Chola family.<sup>43</sup> But he may be more reasonably identified with Choda siddhi, the eldest son of Mallideva I of the Pottapi cholas. Kota Bhima and Ganda also claim to have vanquished and killed Mallachoda who may have been one of the six persons bearing the name Malladeva-e.g. Mallideva, I, II, III, IV and two princes-all of pottapi

Chola line. In this successful expedition into the Telugu chola territories under-taken and accomplished by A.D. 1175 by king Bhima and prince Gonda, the Kotas must have been helped by the Kondapadumatis, the Haihayas of Palnad, the Chagis, the Parichchadis and other local powers in men and resources besides the Velandandu chodas.

### Bhima and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiya contemporaries of Bhima were Prola II (A.D. 1117-1163) and Rudradeva I (A.D. 1163-1196). Even from the time of Prola II the Kakatiyas were interested in leading expeditions of conquest into Vengi. Rudradeva continued Prola II's policy vigorously. He did not miss a single opportunity to invade Vengi. Palnativī Charitra<sup>44</sup> says that he sent vast armies to help Nalagoma in the Civil war of Palnad. It appears that the Kakatiya armies, during the battle of Karempudi, also invaded the Kota territories, before returning home and killed Bhima though it did not result in adding territories, to the Kakatiya kingdom.

Thus the Kotas and the Kakatiyas were on terms of hostility. Bhima and Prola do not seem to have come into conflict with each other. But Kotachodaraja of the Draksharama branch had the title the fire to the forest i.e. Kakati Prola.<sup>45</sup> So Prola II must have advanced as far as Draksharama where he was attacked by Choda II of the Velanandus and lost his life in the battle, and Kota choda participated in that campaign. We do not know whether Bhima came into contact with Rudradeva in the early part of his reign. The armies of Bhima and Rudra fought side by side in the battle of Karempudi and it is not possible to see why Rudra directed his armies against the Kota kingdom suddenly. Either Bhima and Rudradeva were at odds or it was Rudra's ambition to conquer kingdoms or most probably his desire to wreak vengeance for his father's death in the Kota hands by ravaging the Kota kingdom and killing Bhima. The family prasastis<sup>42</sup> of the Recharla, the Vipparla, the Dosatla and the Komaravalli families have the title-Dannalakota pariveshtitakadana, Doddanabhimunigarvapaha-

rana, Dannaalakotarayavesyabhujanga, and Doddanabhimuni-sirahchedana respectively. Of these families perhaps the Vipparlas were the descendants of the Chagis who fought side by side with Bhima in the ward Palnad. The titles for certain show that Dharanikota was surrounded by the enemy, King Dodda Bhima was killed, and the enemy claims to have become the lord of Dharanikota. Doddabhima is identical with Bhima II.<sup>47</sup> It is likely that the members of the Recharla, the Vipparla, the Desatla and the Komaravalli families—who were in the service of the Kakatiyas were the leaders of the Kakatiya armies which participated in the Civil war in Palnad. After the war, they invaded the Kota territories and surrounded the capital Dharanikota. No doubt Bhima offered resistance. Consequently a battle must have ensued near the walls of the fort. The Kotas suffered a severe loss as their king was killed, and the country subjugated as the title Dannaalakotarayavesyabhujanga indicates. This fatal battle must have taken place about A.D. 1182—the last date for Bhima II and this definitely proves that Bhima did not die in the war in Palnad as has been supposed by some.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, perhaps, Bhima II had to leave Palnad to defend his kingdom against the Kakatiyas, who seem to have attacked it even while the war in Palnad was being fought.

### Other achievements of Bhima

Bhima and Ganda claim to have killed a Konmanadandana-yaka by A.D. 1175.<sup>49</sup> Kommaraja, the Kalachuri prince was the commander of the armies of the Pedamallideva, after the death of Balachandra, in the civil war in Palnad. But this Komma could not have been the victim of the Kotas, for the Kota victory was prior to the battle of Karempudi. So the identity of general Komma is yet to be known. Ganda claims to have vanquished Uddendaraya and Bhima, to have defeated Chaundaraja.<sup>50</sup> Choda II of the Velanandus also claimed a victory over Chaundaraya. Probably General Komma, Uddendaraya, and Chaundaraya, as their names suggest were generals of the Chalukyas or Kalachuris of Kalyani, and Komma and Chavunda, descendants of Kommaya and Chamunda, the generals of

Somesvara I,<sup>51</sup> who were among the leaders of Chalukya forces into Vengi, sent soon after Somesvara's accession and were defeated by the Chola armies led by Rajadhiraja, in the reign and Rajendra I, by A.D. 1044, during the second stage in the war.

## KOTA II. A.D. 1182—1231

Bhima II had two sons Chodaraja and Keta. Keta's succession suggests that his elder brother died before his father and shows that no interval of twenty years lasted between A.D. 1160 and 1180 i.e. Ganda II and Bhima II that Kota was a brother's son of Gandaparaja cannot be accepted for want of data. It may be noted that as Ganda did not rule independently and had a son Mummadi bhimadevaraja the idea that Beta succeeded Bhima as he had no issue does not stand.<sup>52</sup> For the first time in the Kota history, the actual day of the enthronement of a king is given, Kota II ascended the throne at Dhanyavati in s 1104 in the month of Magha on sukla desami, Thursday<sup>53</sup> and signalled the event by issuing a number of grants on that day. In one of his records of the initial year, Bhima is said to have inherited the kingdom by the usual order of succession. The fact of his inheriting a well extended kingdom shows that the Kakatiya expedition did not materially alter its destinies. As has been suggested already<sup>54</sup> Ketaraja, the ancestor of the Damtla, Dantuluri, and Jampani families among Rachavaru i.e. Andhra kshatriyas figuring in the works dedicated to members of these families is probably Keta II.

### Extent and extensions of the kingdom

Of all the Kota kings, Keta II issued the greatest number of inscriptions, which by their location and contents prove the extent of the kingdom. Of the records of his initial year-A.D. 1182, One is from Amaravati, in another, besides the usual prasasti, he bore the title-sampraptarajyasakalagunanidhi. Keta granted some villages in the districts of Kondanatavadi, Doddikanandravadi, Kondapadumati and Kandravadi

districts.<sup>55</sup> His inscriptions also dated A.D. 1282, from Velpur record his grant of ten villages on the day of his crowning.<sup>56</sup> Keta's record from Madda dated A.D. 1189 mentions Narapanayaka and Brahma nayaka of Velaraktlakula and Brihatkanchipura. His Amaravati inscription of A.D. 1197 is important mentioning his five queens and indicating his political relations with the Omgerumarga chiefs, the Kondapadumatis, Kona Kandravadis and the Kakatiyas.<sup>57</sup> His records from Amaravati and rukkamala dated A.D. 1200 and 1208 respectively mention Appanapeddi, governor of the country to the east of Rayunux, and Vipparla Kondapanayaka and Gundapanayaka. The Ippatam record<sup>58</sup> at A.D. 1211 mentions Kota Mummadi devaraja, son of Gandabkupati making grants for the merit of his parents in the reign of Kakatiya Ganapati Deva Maharaja. This Mummadi's relationship to Keta II is not known. Keta's Panidem record dated A.D. 1231 mentions him as mahamandallesvara kota Doddagetaraja.<sup>59</sup> A record at Velpur, dated A.D. 1216 mentions Kota Bhimaraju and Rudraraju, the two sons of Keta are available after A.D. 1231, it must be taken to have been the last year of his reign. In an undated record, Keta is mentioned as Dannada Keta.<sup>60</sup> Vankyaraju kamaraju and Minister prola figure in two records of Keta.

### Chronology

Col. Mackenzie<sup>61</sup> mentions two Kota Ketarajas with dated A.D. 1182 and 1209 respectively. But inscriptional evidence shows that the two ketas are one i.e. Keta II whose reign extended from A.D. 1182 to 1231. In the light of this fact, the statement that Keta's last inscription is dated 1213 A.D.(s 1135) and that he died before s 1138 the earliest date for his sons falls to ground.<sup>62</sup> By A.D. 1211 Mummadi deva of the Kotas, was ruling as a subordinate of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas.<sup>63</sup> Probably this prince was governing in a part of the Kota dominions, like his father Ganda in the reign of Bhima II. His acknowledgement of the Kakatiya suzerainty, must have been due to political exigencies of the time. In A.D. 1218 Bhima and Rudra, the sons of Keta II partitioned the Kotadesa and the record mentioning it also mentions Kakatiya Ganapati.

But Keta's inscriptions after A.D. 1218 do not mention any suzerain. So the Kota desa of Bhima and Rudra, must have formed another part of the kingdom and they like Mummadi had to recognise Ganapati's overlordship. Thus Keta II ruled the entire Kota kingdom consisting of Shatsahasra, Kondanata-vadi, Kandravadi, Doddikandravadi and Kondapadumati districts from A.D. 1218 with three governors of the royal family under him-Mummadi, Rudra and Bhima for the rest of his reign. Keta II is wrongly mentioned as the son of Bhima III and brother of Chodaraja and thus mistaken as Keta III.

### **Keta's Political Relations**

*Keta II and the Cholas* : The contemporaries of Keta II on the chola throne were Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216) and Rajaraja III (1216-1246). None of Keta's records are dated in Chola regnal years. Nevertheless Keta had the title-Chodakata-kasamanta benkolva which might imply the continuation of the Kota loyalty to the chola throne in this period.

### **Keta II and the Chalukyas**

In this period the Chalukyan sovereignty which was lost to the Kalachuris was restored under Somesvara IV. A record from Dachepalle, dated A.D. 1213 mentions mahapradhani who had a number of high sounding titles and his sons Vimalavikrama ditya and Kamanayaka. It mentions Ganapati who is probably Kakatiya Ganapati. Probably, the father Mahapradhani and his sons were some Chalukyan generals, as the name Vikramaditya suggests, in the Kota kingdom and had to acknowledge Kakatiya authority in A.D. 1213 along with Kota Mummadideva.

### **Keta II and the Telugu Chodas**

The Telugu chola kings contemporaneous with Keta II were Siddhi (A.D. 1175-1192), Nallasiddha (A.D. 1187-1214). Erasiddha alias Gandagopala (A.D. 1195-1217) Manmasiddha alias Nallasiddha II (A.D. 1198-1210), Tammusiddha (A.D. 1205-1209), Tikka I (A.D. 1204-1248) at Nellore Mallideva III,

Mallideva IV and Opilisiddhi (A.D. 1224) at pottapi and Monnara choda (A.D. 1160-1187) and Dalli choda (1211-1222) at Konidena. The Telugu Cholas, generally loyal to the Cholas were growing strong in this period. Their attempts at independence were curbed by the Cholas. "Nallasiddha's career as an independent ruler, was soon cut short by Kulottunga's occupation of Kanchi about A.D. 1196.....For the rest of his reign Kulottunga had no trouble from the Telugu cholas."<sup>64</sup>

Kota Bhima inflicted severe defeats on the Telugu Cholas. But Keta II does not seem to have had any conflict with them. Mallideva III made a grant in the Guntur district in A.D. 1227. Perhaps the Ketas and the Telugu Cholas were on terms of alliance in this period.

### **Keta II and the Kondapadumatis**

The Kondapadumati kingdom formed an integral part of the Kota kingdom from the beginning of Keta's reign or even earlier. Among the queens of Keta II, Sabbama was the daughter of Kondapadumati Buddha by Surama. Buddha is obviously Buddha III and queen Komarama was the daughter of Kondapadumati Manda, identical with Manda III, the first ruler with Buddha, by Ganga. So King Bhima II, when ending the Kondapadumati dynasty married the princesses to his son. Sabbama daughter of Keta II by Komarama figures in a record at Amaravati dated A.D. 1197.<sup>65</sup>

### **Keta II and the Konakandravadis**

Probably the Kona Kandravadis were on terms of subordinate alliance with the Kotas. Parvati, queen of Keta II, was the daughter of King Pota of Konakandravadi by Vinjamamba. Evidently, Bhima II subdued the Konakandravadis and married princess Parvati to Keta II. Keta II's daughter by Parvati was Lakshmi.

### **Keta II and Omgerumarga Chiefs**

King Malla of Omgerumarga was an ally of Keta II. This may be gathered from the fact that Vinjama, queen of Keta II

was the daughter of Malla by Chimmama. Probably Malla was subdued by Keta Bhima II, father of Keta II.

### Keta II and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiya contemporaries of Keta II were Rudra I (A.D. 1163-1196), Mahadeva (A.D. 1195-1199) and Ganapati (A.D. 1199-1260). Rudra and Mahadeva were the sons of Prola II, and Mahadeva's son by Bayyambika was Ganapati. The extension of the Kakatiya kingdom into Telingana was one of the main objects of the Kakatiyas. In A.D. 1185 Rudra I granted a village near Kondapalle to Tripurantakesvara at Tripurantakam.<sup>66</sup> Rudra's invasions were repulsed by Choda II and Gonka III of the Velanandus. As a preliminary measure for his conquest of Vengi, Ganapati contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers in Vengi. By A.D. 1201 Natavadi Rudra I was the brother-in-law of Ganapati.<sup>67</sup> Between A.D. 1213 and 1231, Ganapati seems to have become supreme in Vengi for in A.D. 1213 he granted Chebrole to general Jaya who in his Ganapesvaram inscription of A.D. 1231<sup>68</sup> mentions Ganapati ruling over that tract of country. Kota. Keta II did not come into conflict with Rudra I. Probably he did not feel strong enough to avenge his father's death in the Kakatiya hands. According to the Amaravati inscription of A.D. 1197,<sup>69</sup> one of the queens of Keta II was Nagama, the daughter of king Kakati Keta and Kundama, This Keta is unidentified and was undoubtedly a prince of the Kakatiya dynasty.

Records in some parts of the Kota kingdom, dated A.D. 1211, 1213, 1216 and 1223 mention Ganapatideva of the Kakatiyas. The Kaikayat of Pedaganjam says that Keta Kota held the country as ruler for sixteen years till A.D. 1193 and then the Gajapati subdued the country.<sup>70</sup> Keta's rule of sixteen years gives the date of A.D. 1198 and Gajapati refers to Kakatiya Ganapati, for the Kakatiyas are frequently mentioned as the Gajapatis in recorded tradition. But in Keta's inscriptions-even in those of his last years-Uyyamdonna record of A.D. 1226 and the Panidam record of A.D. 1231, no mention is made of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. But it has to be conceded that though Keta II owed no allegiance to the Kakatiyas in records

the Kakatiya influence was spreading into the Kota kingdom. The Kaifiyat of Velluru says<sup>71</sup> that under the Kakatiya kings, Kota Keta was the governor over the prince with capital at Dharanikota. But much value cannot be attached to this statement for want of inscriptional evidence. Here it may be noted that the various remarks of the epigraphist with regard to the Kakatiya subjugations of the Kotas, that it happened before S 1133 or in Rudra's reign and that "Keta appears to have named his son after this Kakatiya overlord as a token of loyalty to his master"<sup>72</sup> do not bear out.

### **Keta II and the Velanandu Chodas**

The Velanandu choda rulers, Gonka III, Prithvisvara, and his successor Manma Gonka were the contemporaries of Keta II. There is no reason to suppose the prevalence of any hostilities between Keta II and the Velanandu chodas. Keta was the nephew of Gonka III and not Gonka II.<sup>73</sup> It is likely that Keta II assisted the Velanandus in resisting and preventing the Kakatiya intrusions into Vengi though ultimately both were destined to submit to the inevitable—the Kakatiya suzerainty at a later date.

### **Bhima III. A.D. 1231-1234**

Bhima III, the eldest son of Keta II, succeeded his father and ruled with his capital at Dhanyavati. His reign lasted only for three years. Bhima's earliest inscription is from Kolluru dated A.D. 1233<sup>74</sup> mentioning him as mahamandalesvara Erabhimaraja and his wife Akkamadevi. In that year their four sons—Ketaraja, Proraja, Tripuraraja and Ramaraja made some grants. No more of Bhima's inscriptions are available and his grandson Ganapati—son of Manmageta was ruling at Prattipadu in A.D. 1234.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, Bhima's rule ended in A.D. 1234 which may be due to that he was too old when he assumed the reins of Government.

### **His Political Relations**

Bhima did not owe allegiance either to the Cholas or to the Kakatiyas. He must have maintained friendly relations with,

the Velanandu Choda princes of the time. Bhima finds mention in local records. His kingdom does not seem to have experienced any trouble from the Kakatiyas. Bhima was probably on terms of alliance with his brother Rudra who was ruling in a part of the Kota kingdom with capital at Yenamadala.

### **Keta III and Ganapati A.D. 1234-1240**

Keta or Manmaketa III was the eldest son and successor of Bhima. As the inscriptions of his son Ganapati, are found from the beginning, it may be inferred that as crown prince or joint ruler with Keta III, Ganapati was associated in the Governance of the kingdom. The earliest inscription of the reign is that of Ganapati dated A.D. 1234 from Prattipadu. Keta is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Manmaketa raja in his Amaravati inscription of A.D. 1235.<sup>76</sup> Ganapati's record at Begatapuram dated A.D. 1238, mentions his mahapradhan uddandanayaka Prolinayaka with his brothers Tandanayaka Ketinayaka and Dasinayaka and their parents-Uddandanayaka and Gundasani.<sup>77</sup> The c.p. grant of A.D. 1240<sup>78</sup> mentions the king as Manmaketa, lord of the city of Dhanyaketaka. In the Velpur inscription of A.D. 1240 king Ganapaya is said to have been the son of Doddaketa raja.<sup>79</sup> Unless Manmaketa was also known as Doddaketa which name is generally applied to Keta II, Ganapaya of this inscription cannot be identified with Ganapati, the son of Keta III. Bayyaladevi,<sup>80</sup> the queen of Keta III and her daughter,<sup>81</sup> and several members of the royal family's<sup>82</sup> figure in the records of Keta III.

### **The Political Relations of Keta III and Ganapati**

The contemporaries of Keta III and Ganapati in this period were Rajaraja III of the imperial cholas, Ganapati of the Kakatiyas, Tikka I of the Telugu cholas and Rudra I of the Natavadis. The Kakatiya inscriptions in a continuous series in the Telugu country show the further advance of Ganapati. But neither Kota Keta nor Ganapati owe allegiance to the Kakatiyas in their records. Probably the Ketas were allies of the Kakatiyas in this period.

### **Ganapatideva A.D. 1240-1262**

Keta III is not heard of after A.D. 1240 and Ganapati exercised independent sway for twenty-two years from that date. Ganapati's record from Tadikonda dated A.D. 1247 mentions him as Keta Irmadi Ganapayaraja.<sup>83</sup> From a record at Ravulapadu dated A.D. 1251, a mahamandalesvara Kota Gundaraja, whose relationship to Ganapati is not known is heard of. In A.D. 1254, the queen mother Bayyaladevi and king Ganapati acknowledged the Kakatiya suzerainty, for a record of theirs, of that year at Velpur mentions Kakatiya Ganapati.<sup>84</sup> In the Madala record dated A.D. 1256, the king is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Jagamechehuganda Ganapati devaraja.<sup>85</sup> Ganapati's last record is from Tripurantakam<sup>86</sup> and mentions Machinayadu, brother of queen Komaramambika. One of his records undated refers to his son

### **Ganapati's Political Relations**

Towards the end of his reign, Ganapati's kingdom extended as far as Tripurantakam in the west. Ganapati does not seem to have waged any wars. He maintained friendly relations with the Kakatiyas, the Kotas of Yenamadala, the Natavadis and other local rulers.

### **Ganapati and the Kakatiyas**

The influence of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas in Vengi politics was growing from strength to strength in this period. In A.D. 1244, he issued the Motupalli charter.<sup>87</sup> His records of A.D. 1249 are found in Conjeevaram, Guntur and Kurnool, districts and of A.D. 1254 in Kistna district. In A.D. 1260 i.e. the sixty-second year of his reign, Ganapati was ruling in Kurnool and Nellore districts,<sup>88</sup> and was succeeded by Rudrama, who bearing the title Rudradeva maharaja, ruled the well extended kingdom.

An undated inscription at Nayanipalle<sup>89</sup> mentions that during the course of a digvijaya, Kakatiya Ganapatideva maharaja conquered enemy territories, burnt Nellore in the

south, killed Pratihari Bayyana Akkana and other enemies, captured Kulottunga Rajendra choda in Cholamandala, and accepted a tribute of elephants from the king of Nellore. Recorded tradition<sup>90</sup> and literature<sup>91</sup> not contemporary-speak of the usurption of the kingdom of Nellore from Manmasiddhi of the Telugu cholas by Akkana and Bayyana, the deputation of Tikkana somayaji to Ganapati of the Kakatiyas requesting him to restore Manmasiddhi to his ancestral throne, Ganapati's promise to comply with the request and the consequent Kakatiya expedition into Telugu country resulting in the restoration of Manmasiddhi and the subjugation of the country. The Nayanipalli inscription gives the details of the digvijaya. As for the date this conquest must have taken place between A.D.1249 the date of Ganapati's conjivaram inscription and A.D. 1254 when Ganapati was recognised as suzerain by the Nellore Cholas.

As for the relations between Kota Ganapati and Kakatiya Ganapati not much is known. The only Kota record mentioning Kakatiya Ganapati's at Velpur bearing the date A.D. 1254.<sup>92</sup> This evidently was the consequence of Ganapati's successful expedition into Vengi and the Kotas were forced to acknowledge the Kakatiya sway. Manmasiddha II had to pay tribute to the Kakatiya sovereign.<sup>93</sup>

### **Ganapati and other Rulers**

Kota Ganapati was on terms of alliance with the Kotas of Yenamandala. In the Valluru Kaifiyat,<sup>94</sup> he is mentioned as Ganapati, the ruler of Dharanikota.

### **Bhima IV. A.D. 1262-1268**

Son of Keta III, and brother of Ganapati, Bhima had a brief reign of six years. His records are few. The earliest inscription in from Velpur,<sup>95</sup> dated A D. 1264, mentioning the king as mahamandalesvarakota.....devarajulu. The damaged portion in the record must have contained the word, Bhima. The record from Rompicherla, dated A.D. 1265 mentions Bhima. The local ruler was Mallapanayaka, the son of

Jayapanayaka. Bhima's reign must have lasted up to A.D. 1268 the earliest date for his successors, Devaraja and Mummad raju.

### **His Political Relations**

The Supposition<sup>96</sup> that Bhima and his queen were ruling jointly is baseless. Bhima's contemporary on the Kakatiya throne was Rudramadevi. The Kakatiyas were supreme in the Telugu country and almost all the local dynasties including the Telugu Cholas owed allegiance to Rudrama. In one of her records dated A.D. 1267, Rudrama is mentioned Prataparudra.<sup>97</sup> Her records are found in Guntur, Kistna and Nellor districts bearing the dates A.D. 1264 and 1268. Bhima IV followed his brother Ganapati, in acknowledging the Kakatiya suserainty as attested by his Velpur record of A.D. 1264<sup>98</sup> mentioning Kakatiya Rudradeva maharaja. Bhima IV must have continued the Kota policy of friendship towards the Kotas of Yenamadala.

### **Devaraja and Mummadiraja A.D. 1268**

Sons of Ganapati, Devaraja and mummadiraja succeeded Bhima IV on the Kota throne and seem to have ruled together. Their only record is from Kollur dated A.D. 1268 mentioning grants by mahamandalesvara Devaraja and Mummadiraja for the merit of the father Kota Ganapati devaraja.<sup>99</sup> The upper limit of the reign cannot be fixed for want of data. The statement that "if Ganapati had been alive at the time of the gift, the period of his rule would be extended to s 1190"<sup>100</sup> cannot stand for it is certain that Ganapati was succeeded by Bhima IV and Bhima by Mummedi and Deva. Deva and Mummedi appear to have been the last among the rulers of the main branch, as no sons and successors of them are heard of. And it is likely that the Kota territories came under the Kakatiya rule.

### **The Kotas of Yenamadala**

Rudradeva, the second son of Keta and Younger brother of

Bhima, was the first ruler of the Yenamadala branch of the Kotas. The Kingdom originated in the partition of the Kotadesa in A.D. 1218 between Bhima and Rudra<sup>101</sup>. These kotas had their capital at Yenamadala and owed allegiance to the Kakatiyas from the beginning which becomes clear from the fact that Ganapati figures in the record of the position.

### **Rudraraja A.D. 1216-1241**

No inscriptions of Rudraraja are available. Besides the Velpur inscription, the only other record mentioning Rudra is the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapamba. It speaks of Rudra as the son of Kota II and says that his son was Beta, the husband of Ganapamba<sup>102</sup>. As the earliest date for Beta is A.D. 1241. Rudra's reign may have extended up A.D. 1241.

### **Rudra's Political Relations**

Rudra no doubt acknowledged the suzerainty of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas and was on terms of alliance with Bhima III and Keta III of Dharanikota, Rudra of Natavadi and other local rulers.

### **Betaraja and Ganapamba A.D. 1241-1251**

Betaraja was the son and successor of Rudradeva. His earliest inscription is from Yenamadala<sup>103</sup> dated A.D. 1241 mentioning him as mahamandalesvara Kota Retaraja. From another inscription at Yenamadala<sup>104</sup> mentioning Beta and Ganapamadevi, it appears that Ganapamba was ruling with Beta from the beginning. The next inscription of the reign is from Narasaraopet registering gifts to Attaluri Bhimesvara for the merit of Kota Betaya maharaja<sup>105</sup>. Ganapamadevi figures in a record from Kakanix, dated A.D. 1246 issued in the reign of Kakatiya Ganapati. In the Madala record of A.D. 1247 figures Sadamuraja, the lord of Amutunuripura and subordinate of Beta. The last record<sup>106</sup> of Beta's reign is from Yenamadala, at present preserved in Guntur, dated A.D. 1251 mentioning Beta as ruling at Mahishamurdhanagari i.e. Yenamadala. As Beta was not heard of as king after A.D. 1251 and Ganapamba

was ruling singly, Beta must have ceased to rule in that year and died soon after.

### **The Political Relations of Beta and Ganapama**

The Kota loyalty to the Kakatiyas in this period is borne out by the records of Beta and Ganapama mentioning Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. Ganapama, the queen of Beta, was the daughter of Kakatiya Ganapati. This marriage must have taken place in the reign of Rudra and assured permanently the allegiance of the Kotas of Yenamadala to the Kakatiyas and the protection of the Kakatiyas to the Kotas against their enemies.

Beta and Ganapama must have maintained friendly relations with the Kotas of Dhanyakataka and the Natavatis besides other local rulers. The Yenamadala inscription says<sup>107</sup> that Beta was a great warrior and dispelled all the enemies by his splendour. Victorious Beta died after ruling with Ganapama and acquiring everlasting fame.<sup>108</sup> He has been suggested already, probably he accompanied Ganapati of the Kakatiyas in the expedition to Kanchi and there lost his life fighting the enemy.<sup>109</sup>

### **Ganapamadevi A.D. 1251-1264**

Queen Ganapamadevi was at the head of the state for a period of thirteen years from A.D. 1251, the last date for Beta. She assumed the entire Kota prasasti and imperialistic titles. Her earliest inscription<sup>110</sup> is from Madala dated A.D. 1256 which records her remitting of some taxes for the merit of her father Ganapadevamaharaja. The Ipuru inscription of A.D. 1257 mentions queen Ganapama as mahamandalesvara Kota Ganapamadeva yammangaru.<sup>111</sup> In the Madala inscription dated A.D. 1261,<sup>112</sup> the queen is mentioned as Ganapamadevi yammangaru. Ganapama's reign lasted up to A.D. 1264, the earliest date for her successor. The statement that her records are found up to A.D. 1274 is not supported by evidence.

### **Her Political Relations**

Chronology makes it definite that Ganapama assumed the

reins of government of the Kota kingdom of Yenamadala, at a much earlier date than her sister Rudramadevi at Warangal. Ganapama's contemporary on the references in her inscriptions. As Rudrama reigned towards the close of Ganapama's reign, whose last date is A.D. 1264 the presumption<sup>113</sup> that Ganapama was the queen referred to by Marco Polo reigning in her 40th year at the time of his visit is wrong, for Marco Polo's visit was long after Ganapama reign in A.D. 1293.<sup>114</sup> Ganapama's contemporaries at Dharanikota were Ganapati and Bhima IV with whom she must have maintained friendly relations.

### Devaraju. A.D. 1264

Mahamandalesvara Kota..... devarajulu remitted some taxes in Velpur in A.D. 1264 in the reign of Kakatiya Rudradeva maharaja.<sup>115</sup> No details regarding the full name of the king, his relationship to Ganapama and the duration of his rule are available. No sons and successors of Devaraja or Ganapama are heard of.

### The Kotas of Tadikonda

Some Kota chief were found ruling about Tadikonda.<sup>116</sup> Their relationship to the Kotas at Khanyaka, and Yenamanataka dala is not known. But as they bore the usual Kota epithers, they undoubtedly belonged to the same stock as the other kotas. The earliest mention of the kotas of Tadikonda is in A.D. 1176.<sup>117</sup> A record of that year gives the genealogy of some chiefs in the fourth caste. Manmapota was the first ruler of this line. After his death, his wife Pandambika succeeded to the kingdom.

From an inscription at Tadikonda dated A.D. 1261,<sup>118</sup> Vennaladevamma is known. At kota Vennamadevi bearing the epithets-the lord of Dhanyakataka and worshipper of the lotus feet of Amresvara is mentioned in a mutilated inscription<sup>119</sup> at Tadikonda. One may agree with the epigraphist when he says "if the latter were identical with the former this lady chief will have to be connected with the time of the Kakatiya Ganapati. What her position with reference to the royal family is not known,"<sup>120</sup>

Vennaladevi and her descendants ruled in a portion of the Kota kingdom with capital at Tadikonda. An untated epigraph at Tadikonda records that Prorraju and Bayyaraju, the grandsons of Venmamadevi were ruling. These chiefs called themselves the lords of Ohanaykatakapura and worshippers of God Amaresvara. The record also mentions Pinakommaraju, the son of Prorraju and Annaladeva, the son of Perraju.<sup>121</sup>

### The Kotas of Tripurantakam

Choderaja, the older brother of Keta II married Vinjamadevi and had by her two sons-Mummadipotara and Rajayya. Mummadipota was an officer under Ganapati and accompanied him in all his campaigns. He bore the regular Kota prasasti. In A.D. 1246, at Tripurantakam,<sup>122</sup> Mummadipota made grants for the merit of his parents and younger brothers.

### The Kotas of Draksharama

A Kota Gandabhupati and his wife Bhuramadevi, mistaken<sup>123</sup> as Bhutama. Devi by Sewell are known from some inscriptions. His descent is as follows. In the lines of Dhanamjaya, after many famous kings had passed away was born choderaja. His son was Ganda. a great warrist His son was Mummadhi Bhima his son was Ganda II whose wife was Bhuraman. Gandau titles are similar to those of Rachura Daraparaju. His records<sup>124</sup> dated A.D. 1160 and 1175 are at Peddamakkenu. His son was Mummadidevaraja figuring in the record of A.D. 1211. Kota Mummadhi Nandaraju. Odaraju and Gandaparaju, figuring in a super record, were probably the sons of another branch of the Kotas comes to light from a few inscriptions at Draksharama. The members of this branch had the epithet Kota prefixed to their names. though their relationship to the other branches of the Kotas is not apparent. The earliest mention of the Kotas is in A.D. 1140 in an inscription at Draksharama. *Bhimaraja* was the first prince of the family. His son by Vinjambika was *Potabhupala*. A record of Pota at Draksharama dated A.D. 1140 and the 13th year of Kulottunga Chodadeva<sup>125</sup> mentions him as Gota Vinjamapotara and his subordinate Vuyyuri Rajanayani. Probably Pota's rule lasted up to A.D. 1179, when his son Chodaraja was found ruling. King Pota was a feudatory of the chola emperor

kulottunga II and would have maintained friendly relations with the Kotas of Dhanyakataka.

Mahamandalesvara *Chodaraja* was the son and successor of Kannadevada Kota Vinjamapotaraja. His prasasti is different from the usual prasasti of the Kotas and has the epithetschalukyarajyasamuddharanasiddhi mastaka parabalaradhakas, rah chchedaka, gandarolugsanda, sangrama kanthirava, parachakrabhairava and kakati prolanirdahuna.<sup>126</sup> His record dated A.D. 1179 is issued in the reign of emporor Rajaraja identical Cholas. This Kota choda, was thus a subordinate of the cholas, and must have maintained friendly relations with Choda II of the Velanandus. He must have achieved his victories fighting on the side of the Velanandus, over the Telugu cholas, the Kakatiyas and others. No sons and successors of choda are known.

### Other Kotas

From a record of Kunkalagunka<sup>127</sup> A.D. 1275, a kakaliya Rudraraju is heard of. He was probably the grandson of Rudra of the main branch of the Kotas of Dhanyakatak. An inscription at Srikakulam<sup>128</sup>-undated mentions Pochaladevammavaru, the wife of Mahamandalesvara Kota Manma Gampaddeva rajulu who bore the usual Kota prasasti beginning with Swasti chatassamudra mudrita etc. Perhaps this Manma Ganapati is a grandson of Kota Ganapati, son of Keta III of the main branch of the Kotas.

A Kota Permadiraya is heard of from a record at Raichur<sup>127</sup>. A Kota Gundaraja is known from an undated inscription at Ramalapadu.<sup>130</sup> Perhaps he is identical with Kota Gandharaja of Mack. Mas.<sup>131</sup> Besides the local rulers mention that Kota Ketaraja and Bhima were ruling at Dharanikota under Kakatiya suzerainty, till the time of Prataparudra in A.D. 1320. But from inscriptions, we know that Keta and Bhima of the main line ruled at a much earlier date and no Kotas were heard of so late as 1318 and 1320, unless this keta and Bhima were some local princes of the Kota lineage exercising local sway under Prataparudra's suzerainty. But the Kota kingdom as such come under the Kakatiyas at a much earlier date than the

reign of Prataparudra. *Dantuluri Gannabhupala* ruling the tracts about Dharanikota about A.D. 1400 was of Kota lineage. He is disembed as the lord of Dhanyavatipura and Krishnavannajala Kridavinoda. None of his records are available. His descent is clear from Murtitrayopakhyanam dedicated to him and Liya Reddi inscriptions. Among his ancestors figure Kota Kataraja II and Harikrishna<sup>132</sup> Ganna's daughter was Suramba<sup>133</sup> the queen of Pedako. Wativema Reddi of the Reddis of Kondevidu. Obviously Ganna must have recognised Reddi suzerainty. The Kotas of Dhanamjaya Gotra<sup>134</sup> appear as the second among the four important branches of Kshatriyas in Telugu land, even to this day. The lords of Kota appear among the feudatories of Rachiraju Tammaraju of the Pusapatis in the 17th Century A.D. Their names are not known<sup>135</sup>

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## CHAPTER SIX

# The Parichchedis A. D. 1040-1290

The Parichchedis were a collateral branch of the Kondapadumatis and exercised sway over the Sahatsahasra and the Kollipaka 7000 for over two and a half centuries from the middle of the 11th to the close of the 13th Century A D. Their capitals were Kollipaka, Virarayapuri and Vijayavada. The Parichchedis owed allegiance to the Chalukya cholas and their representatives, the Velanandu chodas in Vengi, generally, except when they were forced to submit to the chalukyas of Kalyani. The Parichchedi prasasti is imperialistic like that of the Kondapadumatis and the Kotas. The term Parichchedi prefixed to the names of the rulers of the dynasty indicates perhaps their separation from the main branch of the Kondapadumatis. The country over which they ruled included also the Omgerumarga tract.

### Sources, Origin and Rise of the dynasty

A few inscription-all stone records-form the material for the history of the Parichchedis. Short references in the records of contemporary dynasties are useful as corroboratory evidence. With the few sources available no continuity in the genealogy and chronology of the Parichthedis is possible, Consequently many a gap is found in Parichchedi history.

The Parichchedis, like the Kondapadumatis, belonged to the fourth caste and were of Durjaya descent. The earliest known historical member of the dynasty was Bhimaraja, Pandya is mentioned immediately after Bhima and the relationship between the two is not known. The epigraphist says "if it is presumed that those were son and father, the antiquity of the family and its lordship over Omgeru marga (district) would date at least from 900s." So perhaps from about A.D. 978, the Parichchedis were a ruling power and must have owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Vengi.

### **Nambaya I. A.D. 1043**

Nambaya or Nambiraja is the first wellknown ruler among the Parichchedis. In records, he is mentioned next to Pandaya though the relationship between Panda and Nambaya is yet to be ascertained. Probably Panda and Namba were related to each other as father and son. Nambaya is mentioned as Desoti mahasamanta Nambaya of the Omgerumarga in the record from Valiveru dated A.D. 1043, of his son Mandalika Ganda. Nambaya was thus a desati, (general) probably in the service of the Chalukyas of Vengi, and was rewarded with the title mahasrmanta and lordship over Omgerumarga, by them for his service in their wars.

### **Ganda. A.D 1043**

Ganda was the son of Nambaya and his only record dated A.D. 1043 is from Valiveru. Ganda must have succeeded his father in that year. He bore the epithet Mandalika. Kandanayaka Tikkapayyanayaka, figuring in Ganda's inscription was probably his general. Ganda is not heard of after A.D. 1043 and as both Valiveru and Peravali, mentioned in the record were situated in Velanandu Vishaya, evidently Omgerumarga must have formed only a part of the Velanandu territory.

### **A.D 1043-1127**

In this period of eighty-five years between the last available date for Nambaya I and Ganda I, and A.D. 1127 the earliest

date for Nambaya II, no records of the Parichchedis are available and the relationship between Ganda and Nambaya II is not known.

### **Nambaya II. A.D. 1127-1131**

Namba II or Nambiraja was probably a grandson of Ganda. His earliest inscription is from Chebrole dated A.D. 1127 and the 9th year of Rajakesarivarman alias Vikrama chodadeva. Namba bore the epithets-Mahamandalesvara, the lord of the city of Kollipaka and of the shatsahasra country. Nambaya's last inscription is from Kraksharama dated A.D. 1131 which gives his parasasti. He is mentioned as Nambiraja of Omgerumarga and the lord of Shatsahasra on the southern bank of the Krishna.

### **Extention of the Kingdom**

Up to the time Namba II, the Parichchedis were only the rulers of the Omgerumarga and bore no prasasti. But Nambaya in A.D. 1127, styled himself-Krishnavennanaditradakshina shatsahasravishayadhisvara. So it appears that Namba extended his kingdom from the Omgerumarga into Sharshasra and had his capital at kalipaka. His record to Draksharama by its location probably attests the growth of the Parichchedi kingdom.

### **Nambaya's Political Relations**

Some of the titles of Nambaya show that he was a great warrior. His allegiance to the Imperial Cholas is evidenced by his Chebrole epigraph of A.D. 1127 dated in the 9th regnal year of vikramachola. The Chola supremacy in Vengi, which was threatened for a while by the Chalukyas of Kalyani under the aegis of Vikramaditya VI, was restored in the southern half by A.D. 1127. Nambiraja played a distinguished role in assisting the Chola emperor in this restoration. His epithet-Vengi chalukyarajya mulasthembha shows that he was a staunch supporter of the Vengi chaluky a kingdom which must refer to the Chalukyachola kingdom under Kulottunga I and his successors, as the Vngi kingdom of the Chalukyas ceased

to exist as a separate power with the accession of Kulottunga.

Nambaya while fighting for Vikrama chola against his Chalukyan enemies came into conflict with the later Pandyas, the feudatories of Vikramaditya VI. For, Tribhuvanamalla Pandyadeva, a feudatory of Vikramaditya IV ruling Nolambavadi 32000 from Betturu in A.D. 1127 had the title-the punisher of the Parichchedins and the vanquisher of the hopes of the Chola king Rajiga chola. Here the Parichchedin is no doubt Nambaya II and Rajiga chola refers to the emperor Vikrama-chola. This shows that in their re-establishment of the Chola power in Vengi, Vikramachola and Nambaya II suffered a reverse in the hands of Tribhuvanamalla Pandya, who must have fought obviously on the side of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. Nevertheless, the restoration of the Chola power in Vengi completely shows that Tribhuvanamalla's victory did not result in the continuation of the Chalukyan power in Vengi. This battle between the Cholas and the Kalyani Chalukyas must have been fought before A.D. 1127-the date of the record of Tribhuvanamalla mentioning his achievements.

Nambaya II must have had friendly relations with Choda I of the Velanandus. His title-Mallanagandhavarana<sup>11</sup> shows that he vanquished a certain Mallana whose identity is not known. His epithet Darjayakula-kumudachandra i.e. a moon to the lotus i.e. Durjauakula perhaps shows that he was a friend and supporter of the local dynasties claiming Durjaya descent against their enemies.

#### **Pandayaraja A.D. 1158**

Pandayaraja succeeded to the Parichchedi throne in A.D. 1158 whereas Nambaraja was not heard of after A.D. 1131. So there intervened a gap of twenty-seven years between Nambaya II and Pandya. Pandya's relationship to Nambaya II is not known. His only record is from Guntur dated A.D. 1158 which gives the genealogy of the King's family and mentions Gunturu in Omgerumarga.

#### **Teilokyamallaraju A.D. 1159**

Trilokyamallaraju was the son of Nambaya II. His only record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1159. His reign

lasted only for three years, as Bhimaraja, his successor was ruling in A.D. 1161. Trailokyamallars prasasti has some new titles besides the ordinary Parichched titles. The opithet Nambhanigandhavarana i.e. the mast elephant of Nambha perhaps implies that Trailokyamalla was a deserving son of the father i.e. Nambha.

Trailokyamalla's name suggests that he is probably named after the Western Chalukya Vikramaditya VI to whom his father Nambha was a subordinate prior to the restoration of the Chola powers in Vengi.

### **Bhimaraja A.D. 1161**

The relationship of Bhimaraja to his predecessor or Trailokyamalla is unknown. His earliest inscription is from Garnapudi<sup>1</sup> dated A.D. 1161 mentioning him as mahamandallesvara Parichchedi Tammu Bhimaraja and his commander Gandaya. An inscription at Ellore dated Kaliyuga (4) 1925 (evidently 4295) mentions Bhima as Parichchedi Chikkabhimaraja of Verur.<sup>2</sup> Tammubhima and Chikkabhima are evidently identical, the terms chikka and tammu in Kannada and Telugu respectively indicating younger (brother). Another record of Bhima at Ellore, with date last mentions him as Mahamandallesvara Parichchedi Bhimaraja.<sup>3</sup> The opigraphist remarked "The genealogy in this record is complete but supplies the names Ganda and his sons Rama and Bhima of whom the latter is very likely the Parichchedi Chikka Bhimaraja."<sup>4</sup>

So Bhima had an elder brother Rama and his father was Ganda. Probably he had his capital at Verur. Bhima's inscriptions do not shed any light on his political relations. Nevertheless he must have been a subordinate of the Chola emperor Rajaraja II (A.D. 1150-1163) and Velanandu choda II. Bhima was perhaps a lover of peace as no signs of his having fought any battles are available.

### **A.D. 1161—1222**

After Bhima in A.D. 1161, no Parichchedis are heard of till A.D. 1222 the earliest date for Kusumaraja. Thus for the third time in the Parichchedi history, there was a gap between

two reigns-here of sixty years. Either the rulers were insignificant and did not leave behind records or their inscriptions are yet to be discovered.

### **Kusumaraja A.D. 1222**

Like Nambaya II, Kusumaraja was a ruler of some importance. His only inscription is from Prattipadu dated A.D. 1222<sup>5</sup> mentioning him as Mahamandalesvara Kusumaraja and his queen Sabbamadevi. He bore the usual Parichchedi prasasti, one of the titles being-the lord of the town of Virarajapuri. Probably his father was Ganda, after whom he built the Gandisvara temple. Kusumaraja's reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1230-the earliest date for his successor Bhimaraja.

### **His Political Relations**

Kusumaraja was of enterprising nature and achieved some victories. His title the lord of Virarajapuri implies his conquest of it from his enemies. He extended the kingdom and shifted his capital from Kollipaka to Virarajapuri. It has been said that "Virarajapuri might be the same as that town the conquest of which is attributed to the Eastern chalukya king Kollabhiganda Vijayaditya IV."<sup>6</sup> "It is not known who the enemies were whom Kusumaraja had to fight in extending his kingdom. Probably he owed allegiance to the Chola emperor Raja-Raja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and maintained friendly relations with the local dynasties in Vengi-the Velanandus under Prithvisvara, the Kondapadumatis, the Chagis and the Kotas.

### **Bhimaraja A.D. 1230—1268**

Bhima was the first Parichchedi ruler who had a long reign of thirty-eight years. His earliest record is from Potturu dated A.D. 1230<sup>7</sup> mentioning his parents-Mahamandalesvara Parichcheda Kommaraja and Suralamahadevi. His next inscription also from Potturu,<sup>8</sup> dated A.D. 1246, mentions his younger brothers-Uttambhimaraja, Devaraju, and Ganapaddevaraju. Bhima's next inscription<sup>9</sup> is from Sekuru

near Tenali. From an undated inscription of Bhima,<sup>10</sup> Parichchedi Pandraju, Vallabharaju and Peda Kammaraju, bearing a long parasasti similar to that of Namba II are known. As Bhima associated Uttambhima in ruling the kingdom from A.D. 1268, that may be taken to be the last year of Bhima's independent rule.

### **His Political Relations**

Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1279) the last of the Chola emperors had no control over Vengi. The Velanandu kingdom had disappeared soon after Prithvisvara and only a few princes of the line were ruling in parts of that country. The Kakatiya power was making rapid strides in Vengi under Ganapatideva and Rudrama. But there are no signs of the Parichchedis acknowledging the Kakatiya yoke and one may agree with the epigraphist when he says "It is not unlikely that these Parichchedis were among the chiefs who were opposed to and caused disturbance in the reign of Rudramba."<sup>11</sup>

One of the titles in the prasasti of the princes Pandaraju, Vallabha and Podakomma is Ratta Katakaraksha i.e. the guards of the Ratta camp.<sup>12</sup> Bhima's father Kommaraja was a Mahamandalesvara and must have ruled over the Parichchedi tracts though none of his records are available.

### **Bhimaraja and Uttam Bhimaraja A.D. 1268—1283**

Bhima and Uttam Bhima signalled their joint rule by issuing combined grants. The earliest inscription is from Potturu dated A.D. 1268<sup>13</sup> Another record there dated A.D. 1272 mentions Mahamandalesvara Bhimaraja.<sup>14</sup> Mahamandalesvara Ranarangabhairava Parichcheda Vedamani (?) Kota devaraja figures in a record dated A.D. 1270 from Tripuran-takam.<sup>15</sup> This Devaraja is probably identical with Devaraja, the younger brother of Bhima and Uttambhima. So Devaraja belongs to the Parichchedi line and not to the Kota line as has been supposed by some writers.<sup>16</sup>

No political events of the reign have come down to us. The joint rule was probably intended to strengthen the kingdom against the Kakatiyas. Parichcheda Devaraja was ruling about

Tripurantakam. None of the Parichchedis in this period acknowledged the Kakatiya sway.

### **Alladanatha Devaraja and Bhimaraja A.D. 1283**

Alladanatha devaraja and his brother Bhimaraja exercised joint sway like Bhima and Uttambhima. Their inscription range from A.D. 1283, which must have been the initial year of their reign. The Sriakulam inscription dated A.D. 1283<sup>17</sup> mentions mahamandalesvara Parichcheda Aladanathadevaraju and his parents Gonkaraju and Kamaladevamma. Alladanatha's prasasti has the titles-Virajapuravaresvara, Durjaya kulakulachalamsigenda, Srikrishnavanadidakshinashatsahasravanivallabha, Kollipaka saptasahasravanivallabha, choda kataka vajraprakara, Katta katakaraksha palaka and Chalukya rajyamulasthambha,<sup>18</sup> besides others. A record at Tripurantakam with cyclic year, Pramadin, mentions Alladanathadevaraja and his younger brother Bhimaraju ruling.<sup>19</sup> Allada is mentioned as the lord of Vijayavatika and of the Shatsahasra on the bank of the Krishna.

### **Extension of the Kingdom**

The Parichchedi kingdom reached its widest limits in this period, as a result of the policy of conquest and annexation of Allada and Bhima. Allada had his capitals at Virarajapuri, Vijayavada and Kollapaka. His titles-ripuratripura mahesvara, Eladayarakkasa, parabalakarkasaganda dhanamjaya, ahavabhima, sribalaganda, prachchandamertanda, ranaranga-bhairava, Chola marupartha-show that he was a great warrior destroyer of enemies and a faithful subordinate of his overlord. Allada's titles, the protector of the Ratta camp and main pillar of the chalukya kingdom are hereditary and indicate the past connections of the Parichchedis with the Rashtrakutas and the Imperial cholas.

### **Betaraja A.D. 1265**

Mahamandalesvara Parichchedi Betaraju is heard of from an inscription at Ponnuru<sup>20</sup> dated A.D. 1265 registering his grant of Vankayalapadu. Beta's relationship to the other

parichchedis of the main line is not known.

### **Kesavaraju A.D. 1292**

Kesavaraj's only inscription is from Srikakulam<sup>21</sup> dated A.D. 1292 mentioning his father Parichcheda Padraju, who may be identified with Pandraju figuring in the reign of Bhimaraju (A.D. 1230-1268) noted already. But the relationship of Kesava and Pandraju to Allada and Bhima is not known.

### **Sureparaja A.D. 1292**

Suraparaja, bearing the usual prasasti of the Parichchedis, is heard of from an undated inscription at Potturu in which he is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Su (reparaja).<sup>22</sup>

### **Later Parichchedis**

No parichchedis are heard of after A.D. 1292-the last date for Kesavaraju. But the following title, in the prasastis of some families are reminiscent of the Parichchedi rule. The Debbadula family<sup>23</sup> had the title-Kollipakapuravaradhisvara, and the Pandraju and Cheraku families bore the epithets-Trailokyamallabhujabalabhima and Trailokyamalla respectively.<sup>24</sup> These titles may refer to the Parichchedi capital Killipaka and king Trailokyamalla. And Nambaya was a title borne by the later chiefs of Amaravati.

### **Other Parichchedis**

A record<sup>25</sup> at Draksharama dated A.D. 1168 and in the reign of Rajaraja, refers to a line of Parichchedi rulers. King Komma's eldest son was Ganda and the son of his second son was Chikkabhima, the lord of Omgerumaga. The name of the second son of Kamma is lost in the record. The Telugu portion of the record mentions Trailokyamalla, Chikkabhima. Probably Trailokya malla was the second son of Ganda, and father of Chikkabhima. A Pandyaraja<sup>26</sup> was the mahamandalesvara of Parichchedi country near Chilka lake, ruling as the subordinate of the emperor Narasimha III of the Eastern Ganges in the 13th Century A.D. On the 17th Century A.D. the Parichchedis find mention in the Chatuverse

among the feudatories of Rachiraju Tammaraju of the Pusapati family. But their names are not known. Amalaraju of Parichchedi lineage, according to Pusapativarivamsavali,<sup>27</sup> lived at Pusapadu and so his descendants bore the family name Pusapativaru.

### End of the Parichchedis

The Parichchedis ceased to exist as a power towards the close of the 13th Century A.D. and their territories with capital Kollipaka came to be included in the Kakatiya kingdom under Prataparudra. The Mahaparichchedis belonging to Vasishta gotra are mentioned as one of the four important sects among Rachavaru—Andhra Kshatriyas even to this day.<sup>28</sup>

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

# The Natavadis A.D. 1104-1269

The Natavadis or Natavatis ruled over Natavadi vishaya for a century and a half - from A.D. 1104, with capital at Madapalli. The dynasty consisted of five kings who played not an insignificant role in the history of south India of the period. The Natavadi records are at Nidikonda, Tripuranakam, Draksharama and Simhachalam. The rulers owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Kalyani in the beginning and the Kakatiyas towards the close of the chalukyan power. The Natavadis never seem to have enjoyed independence, though their marriage alliances with the Kakatiyas on the one hand and the Kotas on the other attest their importance.

### **Sources, location of the kingdom and the capital**

The Natavadi inscriptions - all stone records which are not numerous, and references, in the Kakatiya, the Kota and the Kona Kandravadi inscriptions form the sources for the history of the Natavadis.

About the 6th Century A.D. Netrapativishaya on the southern bank of the Krishna finds mention in the Vishnukundin records. The records of the Chalukyas of Vengi mention Tonkanatavadvishaya. Pennatavadvishaya, and Natavadi vishaya, where as Natavadi records mention Natavadi vishaya. As has been suggested already, Vetrapati vishaya and Natavadvishaya are identical and correspond to the modern Nandigama taluq of the Kistna district, where

as Pennatavadi refers to a bigger Natavadi and Tonkanatavadi to a part of it towards one end, One may agree with the statement "probably the Natavaduvishaya extended in the west as far as Nidikonda, although in the time of Kakatiya Ganapati the Natavadu chiefs ruled only the eastern part of it." Madapalli has been identified with the village Madapalle near Madhira, the head quarters of the Madhira Taluq in the Warangal district, which gains support from the Nidikonda inscription. So there is no probability of its identity with the village Madepalle near Ellore.

## Origin

The fourth caste i.e. chaturthakula was born from the feet of Creator. In it in Madapalli in Natavadi vishaya, was born Durga. No mythical ancestors of the Natavadis are known. Beta Kshanipalaka figuring in the Inugurti inscription was probably the earliest Natavadi chief known so far and father of Durgaraja. He does not find mention in other Natavadi records and some of his records are available. Tentatively he may be placed about A.D. 1050. The records do not say that they were Durjayas born from the arms of Brahma, as has been supposed by some writers.

## Durga A.D. 1104—1157

Durga was the founder of the kingdom of the Natavadis and its first ruler. He issued records of his own. His earliest inscription is from Nidikonda in Nalgonda district (Nizam's dominions) dated in the cyclic year Tarana and the 29th year of C.V. era. Corresponding to December 24, 1104 A.D. Durga is mentioned as Dugga and Duggarasa in the record and as Duggabhupathi in the Inugurti record of his son Buddha. He bore the epithets-Mandalika and Nathavatidhatrinatha. In A.D. 1157 as seen from a record at Navepotavaram (Bezvada taluq) Prodamadevi made grants for the merit of her deceased husband-Durgaraja. This Durgaraja, was probably Natavadi Durga and consequently his reign lasted up to A.D. 1157.

### His political relations

The Nidikonda inscription definitely shows that Dugga was a subordinate of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, spoken of, as a greater warrior and conqueror of many fortresses, Durga must have served Tribhuvanamalla-vikramaditya VI in his wars faithfully and was bestowed with the rulership over Natavadi-vishaya with its capital at Madapalle. It has been said that "this (Nidikonda) inscription is the only definite evidence of the actual extent of the Western chalukya kingdom about this time. "Durgaraja's loyalty to the Chalukyas might have continued throughout the reigns of Vikramaditya VI and Somesvara III till about A.D. 1140 as the chalukyan power prevailed in Vengi up to that date.

Probably Dugga was on friendly relations with Dora I (A.D. 1118-1161) of the Chagis, Bhima I, Bhima II (A.D. 1149-1195) of the Konakandravadis and Pota of whom may be identified with mahamandalesvara Potaraja, father of queen Prolamadevi. In extending his kingdom and fighting on behalf of the Chalukyas, Dugga must have come into conflict with some of the neighbouring kingdoms. For instance, the Natavadis and the Konakandravadis during the latter part of the reign were enemies and Dugga seems to have lost his life in the hands of a Konakandravadi ruler. In an inscription dated A.D. 1213 Konakandravadi Bhima bears the title-Satrundripala dugganarendrachura.<sup>1</sup> Here Bhima probably is Bhima II, the joint ruler with Dugga Pota and Dugga may refer to Natavadi Durgaraja. If so, a battle must have been fought between the Natavadis and the Konakandravadis, some time prior to A.D. 1157 in which Durgaraja was vanquished and probably lost his life.

### Buddha A.D. 1157—1201

Buddha was the son and successor of Durga and had a reign of forty-six years from A.D. 1157 to 1201 when he was succeeded by his second son Rudra, which suggests that his eldest son predeceased him. Buddha is known from the records of his successors. His only record is from<sup>2</sup> Inugurti, removed from the wall in the old fort and now preserved in the

local Vishnu temple, mentioning Betakshonipalaka, Durgabhupati and Buddha kshonipati. Few details of his reign are known.

### Political conditions

In this period, some of the kingdoms in Vengi were the kotas, the Kondapadumatis, the Kona kandravadis, and the Chagis besides the Velanandu chodas and the Telugu chodas. The Chagis claim lordship over Natavadvishaya, as is evidenced from their inscriptions. Buddha must have been on friendly terms with the Chagis, and the Konakandravadis.

### Buddha and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiya contemporaries of Buddha were Rudradeva Mahadeva and Ganapati. Rudradeva, an ambitious and enterprising ruler, his leading expeditions of conquest frequently into Vengi proved a menace to the security and peace of the Velsnandu kingdom. His brother and successor had a brief reign (1195-1199 A.D.). Buddha acknowledged the supremacy of the Kakatiyas under Rudradeva which is attested by his Inugurti stone inscription mentioning Rudradeva and his general Sikkhinayaka ruling over Natavadi simha. The name of the general is not clear and the record, records some grant of his Buddha, and Mahadeva became allies in this period and the political alliance thus inaugurated lasted for the rest of the Natavadi rule, and the Kakatiyas proved a source of strength and support to the Natavadis. The Kundavaram inscription says<sup>3</sup> that Mahadeva married his daughter Kundamika to Rudradeva son of Buddha. As for the date, the cyclic year Pramadi is given. This measure of alliance speaks for the political wisdom of Buddha and Mahadeva, for it eliminated any fear for the Natavadis from the Kakatiyas. Buddha maintained amicable relations with Ganapati, the son and successor of Mahadeva. We may note that Natavadi Buddha cannot have had any relationship with Buddha, the author of Ranganatharamayana<sup>4</sup>, for chronology is against it, as Gona Buddha lived fifty year after the Natavadi Buddha.

### RUDRA I A.D. 1201—1248

Rudra I was the greatest of the Natavadis. His prasasti is imperialistic<sup>5</sup> and indicative of independent rule. His reign

lasted for a period of forty seven years from A.D. 1201 to 1248 when he was succeeded by his son and successor Rudra-deva II.

### Extent of the kingdom

Rudra's earliest inscription is from Bezwada dated A.D. 1201 mentioning him as the brother-in-law (marundi) of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. His next inscription also from Bezwada dated A.D. 1205 mentions him as Natavadi Rudra, and his father Budhaaraja.<sup>6</sup> Rudra's inscription from Tripurantakam<sup>7</sup> dated A.D. 1209 is issued in the reign of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. It mentions the king as Vakkadimalla Rudra the second son of Buddha and his queen as Melambika, the sister of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. No doubt Vakkadimalla Rudra and Rudra I are identical. Rudra's Amaravati record dated A.D. 1234<sup>8</sup> mentions Bayyalamahadevi, the queen of Kota Keta III and daughter of Natavadi Rudra. Rudra's last inscription is from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1242. Two inscriptions of the reign, one incomplete and the other undated from Tripurantakam and Nudurupadu respectively mention Vakkadimallarudra devamaharaja, queen Mailala mahadevi and Bayyaladevi Yammangaru and her daughter. A record at Mudunur<sup>9</sup> mentions kina Rudra, lord of Nathavati, his queen Kundamba, daughter of Mahadeva of the Kakatiyas, their son king Mahadeva and his queen Mahadevi. Though no records of Rudra after A.D. 1242 are available, his reign may have extended up to A.D. 1248-the earliest date of his sons.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

# The Malayas A.D. 1015-1220

The Malaya dynasty ruled over Malayavani or Malayades with its capital at Mashapuri popularly known as Madduripura for more than two and a half centuries from the beginning of the 11th to the close of the 13th Century A.D. About a dozen rulers of the dynasty are known and there were long gaps between the reigns. The Malayas, claiming solar descent, were never an independent or great power. They owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Vengi, the Chalukyacholas and the Chalukyas of Pithapur. The Malaya kingdom had a long tenure of life like that of the Haihayas of Konamandala and was situated in the fertile tract in Vengi watered by the Gantami (i.e. the Godavari). The Malayas had political relations with the Kona Haihayas, the rulers of Vengi and other local rulers besides their suzerain lords. Malayamu, or Malayamuna is prefixed to the names of the rulers signifying the country over which they held sway.

### Political Conditions

In the first half of the 11th Century A.D. Kalinga was ruled over by Vajrahasta IV (A.D. 983-1017) and his sons Kamarnava V (A.D. 1017) Gundama II (A.D. 1017-1019) and Madhukanarnava VI (A.D. 1019-1038) the Western Chalukya kingdom by Satyasraya (997-1008), Vikramaditya V (1008-1014), Ayyana II (A.D. 1014-1015) and Jayasimha III (A.D. 1015-1042), the Eastern Chalukya kingdom by Saktivarman

(A.D. 999-1011), Vimaladitya (A.D. 1011-1022) and Rajarajendrapura I (1022-1063 A.D.) and the Chola empire by Rajaraja the Great (955-1014 A.D.) and Rajendra I (A.D. 1022-1044). The condition of Vengi in this period, in the words of Professor Sastri was as follows. "After more than three centuries of rule in Vengi, the Eastern Chalukyas had become an old and decrepit race and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the Chola brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which sustained for nearly a century by the Cholas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to the continuance of the Chola empire under Kulottunga I and his successors the Chola-chalukyas as they are some times called.

### **Location of Malayamme**

Generally Malayas refers to the southern portion of the Western Ghats south of the gauveri called the Travancore Hill and Malayakhandam applies to Tranancore. But Malaya desa of the inscriptions in Telugu country from early times, refers to a different locality altogether. One of the Vishnukundin titles is Trikutamalayadaipati. The inscriptions of the Malaya dynasty say that the Malayas ruled over a tract wastered by the Gautami (i.e., the Godavari) and called Malayavani and were the lords of Madduripura. The localities in which the Malaya records are found, confirm the location of Malaya on the west of the Godavari. Bengarunantivishaya of the Malaya c.p. grant must have formed part of the Malayadesa. Rajahmundry probably formed the eastern bound of the Malaya kingdom. Approximately Malaya corresponds to the modern Kovur, Nidadavole and part of Ellore Taluqs the west Godavari district.

### **Sources, Origin and Rise of the Dynasty**

A few stone records and two copper plate grants form the entire material for the history of the dynasty. The records of the Chalukyas of Pithapur and the Konas supply some details about the Malayas.

For the early history of the Malayas, the c.p. grant of A.D. 1018 is the only source of information. The Malaya family is said to have obtained regality from Ramabhattacharaka of Suryavamsa (Rama, son of Dasaratha). They were the lords of Malaya, Madupura, the supporters of the Brahmins of Vengipura, and had on their banner a Garuda bird and a mirror. The names of the early members are not known. In A.D. 1018 the Malaya kings, Kamaraju, Eramaraju, Immadi Bedangaraju, Sodaparaju, Kaliyuga kannaraju and Maravala garuda made a grant. The inter-relationship between these six Malaya kings is not apparent from the c.p. grant and the statement that they had from different families is wrong.

The early Malaya kings were subordinate to the Chalukyas of Vengi. The legened Sribhuvipamalla,<sup>8</sup> evidently a mistake for Sribhuvanamallan on the seal of the Malaya c.p. grant, confirms this, for the prasasti of the Chalukyas of Vengi has the epithet Tribhuvanamalla and their records end with Tribhuvanamkusa. The Chalukyan rulers at the time were Saktivarman and Vimaladitya to whom the Malayas owed allegiance.

### A D. 1018-1128

In the period of a century and a decade from A.D. 1018 we hear practically nothing about the Malayadesa and its rulers. Vengi suzerainty changed hands. The Chalukyas became Chalukya cholas from A.D. 1070 and Vengi became a Chola vicoroyalty. Towards the end of Kulottunga I's reign, there was slow but steady infiltration of the Western Chalukya power into Vengi, which is born but by several records in Vengi dated in c.v. era especially between the years 45 and 48. Probably the Malayas, like the Haihayas of Konamandala, had to recognise the Chalukya suzerainty. However, the situation in Vengi in A.D. 1128, when the Malayas appear on the political arena again is thus after of Vikramaditya's death the Chola supremacy in Vengi was restored with the willing co-operation of the local rulers completed in the southern half though it took another decade for its completion in the northern half A.D. 1138.

**SURAPARAJU A.D. 1128—1143**

The relationship of Suraparaju to the early Malayas is not known. His earliest inscription is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1128 and the (second) year of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja in which the name Suraparaju, is lost. In the next inscription dated A.D. 1129 and the 2th year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana, the king is mentioned as Surapasaju of Venginanti Malayamandala. Surapa is described as a great warrior and a sun to the Malaya family. Though his records are not found after A.D. 1129 nevertheless his reign may have extended upto A.D. 1143 the earliest date for his successor Bantaraja.

**Surapa's Political Relations**

Suraparaja was a subordinate of the Chalukyas of Pithapur the contemporary ruler being Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja who ascended the throne in A.D. 1123-1124 and ruled till A.D. 1145. His two records are dated in the second and the fourth regnal years of Vishnuvardhana. Besides, Surapa had the titles Chalukya samuddharanudaina and an expert in restoring the kingdom of the Chalukyanarayana. These show that he had a great role in the enthronement of Vishnuvardhana at Pithapur. The titles cannot apply to the restoration of the Chola power in Vengi under Vikramachola for the dates do not agree nor to the rule of Somesvara III of the Western chalukyas in Vengi, for he never bore Eastern Chalukya titles. Therefore, Vishnuvardhana and the Chalukyas of Surapa's inscriptions, refer to Chalukya Vishnuvardhana of Pithapur. Surapa may have maintained friendly relations with the Kona Haihayas, the Sarenathas and other local rulers.

**BANTARAJA A.D. 1143**

Bantaraja's relationship to Suraparaja is unknown. He was the son of Atyamadeva. In A.D. 1143<sup>1</sup> he made gifts at Draksharama. Bantaraja bore the epithets, mahamandalesvara and the restorer of Chalukyarajya i.e. chalukyarajyasamudharana evidently the Chalukyas of Pithapur. Either Banta

participated with Suraparaja in the restoration of the Chalukyan power in A.D. 1126 or inherited the title from Suraparaja.

### A.D. 1143-1205

In this period of sixty years from A.D. 1143 to 1205, nothing is heard of the Malayas. Vengi was chiefly under the Velanandus who recognised the Chola suzerainty. There was interference from the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The Kakatiyas continued their loyalty to the Chalukyas of Pithapur.

### Mahadeva A.D. 1205-1240

#### His Predecessor

A new branch of the Malayas comes to light from a c.p. grant of A.D. 1205 of Eastern Chalukya Mallapa Vishnuvardhana<sup>2</sup> The earliest member so far known, is Bhima who is said to have acquired the hereditary sovereignty of his grandfather and other ancestors through the favour of the glorious Chalukya Choda.<sup>3</sup> This definitely shows that the Malayas lost their kingdom for some time and Bhima regained it with the help of Chalukya Choda i.e. probably emperor Vikramachola. The son and successor of Bhima was Vishnuvardhana whose son was Mahadeva. The restoration of Bhima may be placed about A.D. 1130 and his rule and that of Vishnuvardhana probably filled the gap till A.D. 1205.

#### Mahadeva's Inscriptions

Mahadeva's inscription of A.D. 1205 mentions Chengarunantivishaya. His next inscription<sup>4</sup> is from Kumaradevam, dated A.D. 1235. Two of his records<sup>5</sup> dated A.D. 1237 are at Pattisam (Near Polavaram) in one of which figures Adapa Mavena preggada, the minister of Mahadeva. In the record at Kumaradevam dated A.D. 1240.<sup>6</sup> this Mavena is mentioned as Adapa Mahadevana pergada and his father was Manchiraju. King Mahadeva ruled for thirty-five years and was succeeded by his son and successor, Ganapati.

### **His Political Relations**

Mahadeva bore the titles-mahamandalesvara, Samadhigata panchamahasabda and the supporter of Chalukya sovereignty.<sup>7</sup> His contemporaries on the Chalukyan throne at Pithapur were Mallapa III alias Vishnuvardhana, (A.D. 1203-1223) the son of Vijayaditya III and his sons Udayachandra (A.D. 1223-1226) and chandrasekhara (A.D. 1226). None of Mahadeva's records mention the Chalukyas of Pithapur. Nevertheless the Malaya allegiance to the Chalukyas may have continued in this period.

### **Ganapati. A.D. 1240**

Ganapati ruled for thirty years. His earliest inscription is from Kumaradevam dated A.D. 1240.<sup>8</sup> The next record is from Rajahmundry, dated A.D. 1248<sup>9</sup> and indicates the extent of the Malaya kingdom. Ganapati's latest record is from Kumaradevam<sup>10</sup> dated A.D. 1250, mentioning Vengisvararaja of Vengi. As the earliest date for his successor Vishnuvardhana is A.D. 1281, Ganapati's reign may have lasted till that year.

### **His Political Relations**

Ganapati was a friend of the Kona Haihayas and the Chalukyas of Vengi. Lokema, the queen of Ganapati was the daughter of Kona Betaraja.<sup>11</sup> Vengiswararaja of the Vengi Chalukyas and Ganapati together appear in A.D. 1250 in the record at Kumaradevam which attests their amicable relations.

### **Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1281**

Vishnuvardhana was the last among the Malayamu kings. His only record is from Kumaradevam, dated A.D. 1281,<sup>12</sup> recording some gifts by his subordinate Mahadevanayaningaru. His relationship to his predecessor Ganapati is not known.

### **His Political Relations**

Vishnuvardhana must have continued the Malaya allegiance to the Chalukyas of Pithapur. Probably he was named after

Chalukya Vishnuvardhana of Pithapur. As his record positively shows that he was a Malaya chief, the statement that 'since Vishnuvardhana is a name familiar among the Eastern chalukyas, it is likely that the king was a later member of that family and is identical with Vishnuvardhana Chakravartin or maharaja.'<sup>13</sup> falls to ground.

### Later Reference to the Malayas

One of the titles of the Maratala family is Malayamanne Komastaka<sup>14</sup> the meaning of which is not clear. Probably some early members of this family had a share in the ending of the Malaya dynasty after Vishnuvardhana. No sons or successors of Vishnuvardhana are heard of. It is likely that the Malaya tracts were incorporated in the kingdom of the Kakatiyas under Rudradevamaharaja.

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**12. 246 of 1935-36.**

**13. A.R. 1935 : II para 33.**

**14. Mack, Ms. pp. 108-109. If sula is added tikla which obviously is incomplete it becomes intelligible incanining the axe to the fore heads of the king or princess of Malaya manne.**

## CHAPTER NINE

# The Kandravadis A.D. 1130-1280

The Kandravadis ruled over Kandravadi vishaya for a century from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th Century A.D. The two main branches of them were the Ivani Kandravadis and the Konakandravadis which exercised sway simultaneously with their capitals at Ivani, and Bhogapura, and Duggirala respectively. Their kingdoms formed two divisions of a bigger division-Kandravadvishayas or Doddikandravadi finding mention in the Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. The terms Ivani Kandravadi and konakandravadi are prefixed to the names of the rulers of the respective dynasties. The two dynasties owed allegiance to the Cholas and were united for external purposes.

### The Ivani Kandravadis

A few inscriptions from the sources for the history of the Ivani Kandravadis. They claim to have been born from the feet of Brahma<sup>1</sup> and belonged to Durjayakula<sup>2</sup> like the Kakatiyas, the Kondapadumatis and the chagis.

### Panda

King Panda or Pandabhumisvara is the earliest known member of the line. None of his records are available and those of his descendants do not give any details about him. The term bhumisvara<sup>3</sup> suggests that Panda was a person of some importance in Vengi of his day.

### Kanta

Kanta was the son and successor of Panda. Information about him is meagre. The only fact of some significance, about his reign is that he was an enemy of Siddhi of Nellore.<sup>4</sup> This Siddhi is undoubtedly the Telugu Chola, king Siddhi (A.D. 1175—1192) the uncle of Dayabhima I and the elder brother of Betta. Thus Kanta who won a victory over Siddhi must have lived in the first half of the 12th Century A.D. How Kanta came into conflict with the Telugu Chodas of Nellore is not clear. The probability is this—Velanandu Choda II fought the Telugu chodas and won a victory over Siddhi identical with Siddhi of the Kandravadi inscription. It is likely that Kanta was a subordinate of Choda II, participated in his wars and won this victory over King M.P.C. Siddhi. His brother was Kesava I, who must have held a position of importance in the kingdom.

### Gonka

Gonka was the son and successor of Kanta. No records of his are available. He is mentioned as Gonkadharadhinatha. His queen Medambika was the daughter of Vipparti Potaraja.<sup>5</sup> Evidently Gonka is named after Gonka II or III of the Velanandus which indicates Konakandravadi loyalty to the Velanandu chodas. Vipparti Pota, the father-in-law of Gonka, must have been a local chieftain of some importance. No sons of Gonka are heard of and the throne passed on to Kesava II the son of a cousin of Gonka, whose name is not known.

### Kesava II. A.D. 1207-1234

Kesavaraja was the greatest of the Ivahi kandravadis. His

records range from A.D. 1207 to 1234. The earliest record<sup>6</sup> is from Muktyala dated A.D. 1207, mentioning him as the lord of Ivani kandravadi. Of his records<sup>7</sup> dated A.D. 1209-two are from Anigandlapada and another from Muktyala. His last inscription is from Muktyala<sup>8</sup> dated A.D. 1234, in which his name is lost. Two of his undated records<sup>9</sup> at Muktyala trace his ancestry to Panda.

### His Political Relations

Kesava II bore the titles-Mahamandalesvara, of Durjayakula and the lord of Bhogapura. By A.D. 1209 he shifted his capital from Ivani to Bhogapura. He was loyal to Prithvisvara of the Velanandus and would have helped him in fighting his enemies-especially the Kakatiyas. Probably Kesava was the last of the Ivani Kandravadis, as no sons and successors of him are heard of.

From an Amaravati record<sup>10</sup> dated A.D. 1155 is heard of Kanninayaka, the son of Itamanayaka, subordinate of Gonka II and lord of Damalur and ruler of Kurugallu in Ivani kandravadi. The contemporary Ivani kandravadi ruler was either Kanta, or Kesava I, the grandfather of Kesava II. No doubt Komminayaka was a subordinate of Kanta or his brother Kesava I.

### The Kona Kandravadis

The Kona kandravadis ruled from A.D. 1134 to 1279. The term Kona suggests that their kingdom comprised the deltaic area probably of the Krishan, it may also suggest any relationship with the Kona Haihayas of Konamandala and Panchadhara. The Kona kandravadis contracted alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas. Their inscription cover a wide area from Bezvada and Amaravati to Draksharama, from the Krishna to the Godavari district. The Kondkandravadis played a more significant role than the Ivani kandravadis in the politics of Vengi.

The Konakandrayadis trace their descent from Durjaya. In Durjayavamsa was born a king whose name is not known. In

his lineage was born Buddhavarman in whose lineage after many kings had passed away was born Kandyadesati. General Kandaya<sup>11</sup> was the first historical member of the dynasty spoken of, as the light to the house i.e. Durjayavamsa. Desati Kandaya was probably in the service of the Chalukya cholas.

### **Bhima I A.D. 1134-1149**

Bhima I or Raja Bhima was the son and successor of Kandaya. His earliest inscription is from Duggirala<sup>12</sup> dated A.D. 1134 mentioning him as the lord of Kandravadi. His Nutakki inscription<sup>13</sup> dated A.D. 1137 and the 4th year of Kulottunga II, mentions him as mahamandalesvara Kandravadi Bhimaraju. Though none of his records are available after A.D. 1137, his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1149<sup>14</sup>—the earliest date for his sons and successors-Bhima II and Pota.

### **His Political Relations**

The son of a general, Bhima became a ruler. He owed allegiance to the Chola emperor Kulottunga II. Whether Bhima inherited the kingdom from his father or acquired it from the Chola emperor as reward for his services is not clear.

### **Bhima II and Pota A.D. 1149-1195**

Bhima II and Pota exercised joint sway. Their records range from A.D. 1149 to 1195. The earliest record is dated A.D. 1149 and the 17th regnal year of Kulottungachodadeva mentioning both the brothers.<sup>15</sup> Another record at Draksharama dated A.D. 1153 and the 17th year of Rajaraja Choda mentions Bhima II. The next inscription dated A.D. 1166 and the 21st year of Rajaraja also<sup>16</sup> from Kraksharama mentions Bhima as Kandravadi Bhimaraju.<sup>17</sup> Pota figures in the Kota record dated A.D. 1195 from Amaravati.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Political Relations of Bhima II and Pota**

The Kona kandravadis in this period continued their loyalty to Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, the Chola emperors as is

evidenced by the records of the reign dated in their regnal years. Besides, the Kona kandravadis in this period contracted alliances of marriage with the Kotas and the Natavadis. Parvati and Prolama, the daughters of Pota were married to Keta II of the Kotas and Durga of the Natavadis respectively. Prolama figures in a record at Nave Potavaram, in A.D. 1157. Potama, the daughter of Bhima II was married to<sup>19</sup> Rachura Darapara-  
raju,<sup>20</sup> local chieftain of some importance. Under Bhima II and Pota, the Konakandravadi power appears to have been in the ascent.

### Chodayaraja and Keta

Chodayaraja and Potaraja were the sons of Bhima II mentioned as Kona kandravadi Bhima in an undated record at Mudunuru.<sup>21</sup> Pota's son was Keta, evidently named after Kota Keta. Probably Chodayaraja, the eldest son of Bhima II and Keta ruled together like their fathers Bhima and Pota. Neither chronology nor history of the reign is available.

### Bada

Bada was the son of Keta.<sup>22</sup> Nothing is known about him. No sons and successors of him are heard of.

### The Second Kona Kandravadi Dynasty

After Bada, the last of the Konakandravadis, a family also of Durjaya descent, ruled over the Kona Kandravadi territory. The names of the rulers of this line are similar to those of the Konakandravadis. But the actual connection between the two lines is not known. The ancestry of the second Kona Kandravadi dynasty is as follows. In Durjayavamsal was born king Pota. His son was Rajendra Choda, the lord of Konakandravadi. He received Vengi 1000 (Vengi gramasahasrakam) and the epithet Vengindra from Kulottunga choda. Some of his titles were-Durjayavamsarajatilaka, the frightener of the elephants of Kalinga and the conqueror of the lord of Trikalanga.<sup>23</sup>

### Rajendrachoda's Political Relations

Rajendra chola owed allegiance to the Chola emperor Kulottunga I. His victories over the Kalingas must have been acquired during the first or the second Kalinga wars in A.D. 1090 and 1110 respectively under the leadership of Vikramachoda. For, as the subordinate of the Cholas, he must have served in the imperial wars, along with the Velanandus the Kondapadumatis, the Kotas and other powers in Vengi. Rajendrachoda was duly rewarded by Kulottunga with Vengi 1000 and the title Vengindra. So his kingdom included Konakandravadi and Vengi 1000.

### Rajaraja

Rajendrachoda had two sons Rajaraja and Bhima and the former succeeded the father on the throne. Rajaraja is mentioned as the best among kings. His son was Potabhupala, who is said to have destroyed his enemies. King Pota had two sons-Rajaraja and Tonda and Tonda's son was Beima.<sup>24</sup>

As for the descendants of Bhima, the second son of Rajendrachoda, Bhima's son was Chodabhupa. It is clear thus, that a line of the Chagis branched off from the Konakandravadis.<sup>25</sup>

### Other and later Kandravadis

Balleraju, the lord of Ganguru, an agrahara in Kandravadi 1000, and his son figure in a record from Bapatla, dated A.D. 1112 and the regnal year of a king whose name is lost.<sup>26</sup> Balleraju and his son must have recognised Kulottunga I's suzerainty and locally were feudatories of the Konakandravadi ruler-Rajendra Chola. Mallikaraju the son of Kandravadi Apparaju is mentioned a record from Draksharama dated A.D. 1139 and the 7th year of Kulottunga ie. Kulottunga II.

Mahamandalika Konakanadravadi sobbaya and his mother Muppana are mentioned in a record from Bezvada dated A.D. 1140 and the 16th Year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulottunga Chodadeva<sup>27</sup> i.e. Kulottunga II. It is not known whether Sabbaya was related to the Konakandravadi dynasties. He was a contemporary of Konakandravadi Bhima I (A.D. 1134-1149).

A Kandravadi Konaraja is heard of from a record dated A.D. 1177 and the 19th year of Rajaraja.<sup>28</sup> Another chief, Kona-kandravadi Bhima, raju figures in a record from Bezvada dated A.D. 1213.<sup>29</sup> Another record there, dated A.D. 1235 mentions Konakandravadi Surapota. He bore a prasasti beginning with Śvasti somadhigata Panchamahasabda.<sup>30</sup> The relationship of Bhima and Sura Pota to the Konakandravadi dynasties is not known.

### Later References to the Kandravadis

A record at Atamkur<sup>31</sup> dated A.D. 1241 mentions Doddi Kondravadi. The Mandaram record dated A.D. 1279<sup>32</sup> mentions the bank of the krishnaveni. i.e. R Krishan in Doddi-kandravadi. A record at Draksharama dated A.D. 1255<sup>33</sup> mentions Kandravadi. Moramapudi Ketinayaka, the minister of Gonka. Probably Moramapudi Mallinayaka of Narnepadu inscription<sup>34</sup> (A D. 1266) belongs to the same family of as Ketinayaka. Another record there with the Saka and the regnal years of Rajaraja lost mentions Kandravadi choda and his son Konmana.<sup>35</sup> This Choda may be identified with either Choda, the grandson of Rajendra choda, in which case Kommana becomes brother to Tyagi Pota; or with Chodayaraju, the son of Bhima II (A.D. 1149-1195).

### End of the Kandravadis

No Kandravadis-either Ivani, or Kona-are heard of after A.D. 1282. No doubt about that year, the Kandravadi territories were absorbed into the Kakatiya kingdom under the rule of Rudradeva Maharaja. Under Prataparudra her successor almost the whole of Vengi came under the Kakatiya banner.

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## CHAPTER TEN

# The Saronathas A.D. 950-1260

The Saronathas or Kolanumandalikas ruled over Kolanu vishaya with capital at Sarasipura ie modern Ellore (in West Godavari district) for three centuries. The dynasty consisted of more than ten kings who were distinguished warriors and administrators and the kingdom had a long tenure of life like the Kona Haihaya kingdom of Konamandala. Generally Kolani or Kolani mandalika is prefixed to the names of the rulers. The Saronathas owed allegiance to the Vengi Chalukyas, the Chalukya-cholas, the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Kakatiyas at different times, nevertheless were independent for all internal purposes. They are referred to as Telungunayakulu or Telugunayakulu by some writers, probably after Telugu Bhima. Their kingdom fell a prey to the Kakatiyas under Ganapati and they were replaced by the second Kolanu dynasty-the Induluri family. The second Kolame kingdom loyal to the Kakatiyas lasted till the fall of the Kakatiya kingdom in the 14th century A.D. and its rulers acquired important political victories.

### South India and Vengi in the first half of the 10th century A.D.

The major powers in South India in this period were-the Kalinga Gangas, the Vengi Chalukyas, and the Cholas. The Ganga kings were Gungarava I (951-958 A D); the Chalukyas were Bhima I (858-918 A.D.), Vijayaditya IV (A.D. 918),

Amma I (918-925 A.D.), Beta Vijayaditya V (925 A.D.), Bhima II (926-927 A.D.) Yuddhamalla II (927-934 A.D.), Chalukya Bhima III (934-945 A.D.), and Amma II (A.D. 945-970); and the Chola emperors were Aditya I (871-917 A.D.) and Parantaka I (907-953 A.D.)

### Sources and Early history

A few stone records and a single copper plate grant<sup>1</sup> form the sources for the history of the Saronathas. The inscriptions of the chalukya cholas, the Velanandu cholas and stray verses in Telugu supply additional and corroboratory information.

The earliest known member of the Kolanu dynasty was *Baladitya*<sup>2</sup> or *Choladitya*<sup>3</sup> or *Bhataditya*.<sup>4</sup> He was a great archer and an equal of Rama and Arjuna. As his son *Nripakama* was in the service of Amma II, *Baladitya* may be placed provisionally between A.D. 900 and 945, Probably he was in the service of the Vengi Chalukyas. *Nripakama*, was a great archer and fighter. He is said to have slain five heroes at one time with his sword. He, in Chalukya records, is specifically mentioned as *Saronatha*—the lord of the lake district.<sup>5</sup> *Nripakama* lived in the second half of the 10th Century A.D. and his son was *Gandanarayana*, and daughter was the queen of Amma II. How he came in possession of Kolanu vishaya is not known. Perhaps he secured it in return for his services to Chalukyas in their wars. On the request of *Nripakama*, and queen *Nayammamba*, king Amma II granted *Gundugolam* in *Venginaduvishaya* to the Brahmins.

*Gandanarayana* bore the title *Satya bhallata*. He was skilled in riding horses and elephants. He proved a traitor to Amma II *Vijayaditya* (945-970 A.D.), his brother-in-law for reasons not known to us, and sided *Badapa* and *Talapa* against him.<sup>6</sup> Thus *Gandanarayana* *Bhima* was in the service of King *Badapa* of the Chalukyas of Vengi whom he pleased by his help in wars and in return received from him *Arumbaka* in the *Velanandu vishaya* and regranted it to *Chandenarya*, son of *Samakamba*, a sister of *Nayammamba*,<sup>7</sup> the mother of *Gandanarayana*. It may be noted have that the statement<sup>8</sup> that he was a *Niyogi* Brahmin of *Pattavardhani* lineage is baseless.

## Bhima 11th Century

*King Bhima* was the best known among the Kolanu mandalikas. He was a warrior of rare capacities. None of his records are available. He lived in the latter half of the 11th Century A.D. as he was an important person in the first Kalingan war of A.D. 1090. The little information known about Bhima is from the references in the contemporary Chola, Pandya and Velanandu choda inscriptions.

Between Gandanarayana and Bhima, at least fifty years must have elapsed. No intermediary Kolana rulers are known and neither the relationship between Gandanarayana and Bhima.

Bhima was known as Telinga or Telunga Viman or Bhima of Kulam ie. Kolanu in Tamil record of the period. He owed allegiance to the Ganga Emperors of Kalinga-Vajrahasta V (1038-1070 A.D.), Rajaraja I (1070-1078) and Anantavarman (1078-1146 A.D.) This transference of the Kolanu loyalty from the Chalukya to the Gangas must have been the result of the spread of the Ganga power into Vengi after Gandanarayana and prior to Bhima. Bhima was probably an ally of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

## His Political Relations

The only important political event of the reign is this—with the support of the Gangas and the Western Chalukyas, Bhima and other subordinate rulers in the northern Vengi-southern Kalinga, conspired together, rose in rebellion soon after the acceptance of the vicereignty of Vengi by Vikramachoda and by their aggressive policy threatened, the Chola suzerainty in Vengi.<sup>9</sup> Bhima was the leader of the rebellion. It was to put an end to this kalingan trouble, that the first Kalingan war of the Cholas, was undertaken under the leadership of Vikramachola. King Parantaka of the Pandyas, Choda I of the Velanandus, Bhima of the Kotas, besides many other feudatory rulers in Vengi joined the viceroy in this war, took active part and contributed to the complete success of the expedition.

The chief object and victim of the expedition was Bhima. All records say that Bhima was captured and killed. A record of the Velanandu chodas describes the event as follows. Vikramachola dried up the whole of that lake (saras) like ocean and killed Bhima (ie. he built dam or bridge across the water in order to reach him who had evidently taken refuge in an island fortress.) Professor sastri says "In (Vikrama chola's) inscriptions dated after his accession, there occurs a brief description of his viceroyalty of Vengi. It is this "while yet a child (he) bore the cruel weapons (of war) so that at Kulam the Telunga Viman ascended the mountains as refuge and so that hot fire consumed the land of Kalinga." Thus the victory over Bhima was recorded with pride in Vikramachola's records. Parantaka Pandya claims to have taken Kulam from Bhima and subdued Kalinga. Velanandu choda I claims to have defeated Telugu Bhima, a vassal of the king of Kalinga drove him to take refuge in the colair, pursued him thither and killed him. According to the Velanandu c-p. grant, Choda I killed also the children and friends of Bhima. Many of the later Velanandu records refer to the victory over Bhima.

Thus the rebellion of Bhima brought on him the wrath of the Imperial cholas and their subordinates and proved disastrous to the Kolanu kingdom. Bhima and his children were killed and so his line became extinct. Incidentally we may note that Kolanu Bhima was distinct from Kota Bhima and not identified as has been supposed by some.

### A. D. 1090-1125

Between A.D. 1090 the last date for Bhima and 1125-the earliest date for Rajendra choda, we hear nothing about the Kolanu kingdom and its rulers. Evidently after the subjugation, the Kolanurajas would have been loyal to the Chola emperors and their representatives—the Velanandu chodas.

### Rajendra choda alias Okkettugande. A.D. 1125-1135

Rajendra choda is the first Kolanu ruler whose records are available. His earliest inscription is from Juttiga (Duttika).

dated A.D. 1125 mentioning him as Mahamandalesvara Kolani Okkettuganda.<sup>10</sup> His only other record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1132 and C.V. year 57.<sup>11</sup> It mentions him as Okkettuganda, the lord of saras and named Rajendrachoda. His parents were—Damatinayakudu and Orilasani, and sister was Medasani. Though his records are not available after A.D. 1132 his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1135—the earliest date for his successor—Katamanayaka.

### His Political Relations

The title of Rajendrachoda—Okkettuganda seems to indicate that he was a great hero and warrior. But the epigraphist takes the view that, “the expression presents some affinity to Ikaketu, a banner of the Rashtrakutas.”<sup>12</sup> This suggests some connection between the Saronathos and the Rashtrakutas in earliest days, as there were no Rashtrakutas in this period.

As Damativayakudu alias Amarinayaka did not bear any titles, probably he was only a general and not a king. So Rajendra choda, revived the Kolanu kingdom, after the death of Bhima.

The contemporary Chola emperor was Vikramachola. Till A.D. 1132, Rajendrachoda must have acknowledged the Chola suzerainty, though he has not specified it in his Juttiga record. But in A.D. 1132, he recognised the Western chalukya suzerainty, by dating his Draksharama epigraph of that year in C.V.era. The Chalukyan emperor at the time was Bhuvanai-kamalla Somesvara III whose sway in the northern Vengi lasted till A.D. 1139 – the year in which he suffered a signal defeat in the Chola hands on the Godavari. Owing to the activity of the Chalukya armies in the northern Vengi, even after the Chola suzerainty was restored in the southern Vengi by A.D. 1127. Rajendrachoda had to submit to the Chalukya authority towards the close of his reign—probably after some resistance which probably proved futile before the strong Chalukya general.

### Katamanayaka A.D. 1135-1151

Katamanayaka had a reign of fifteen years and issued many

records, His relationship to his predecessor Rajendra choda is not known. His earliest inscription<sup>13</sup> is from Elurpadu, dated A.D. 1135, mentioning his as Bhujabalabhima Katamanayaka, the lord of Sarasipura in Vengimandala and comparing him with Kartavirya and Abhimanyu in valour. His next inscription<sup>14</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1140 praising his valour. His Chellur copper plate inscription<sup>15</sup> dated A.D. 1143 of the time of Kulottunga II traces the Eastern chalukya genealogy up to Kulottunga II, the son of Vikrama chola and records that Kolani Katamanayaka alias Dandadhinath Kota was governing Sarasipuri while Vikrama-chola was governing Vengimandala and granted Mandadorru with Pandura in Savattili vishaya to the Brahmins. Katama's next record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1148. His last record<sup>16</sup> is from Gangapavaram dated A.D. 1151 mentioning him as mahamandalesvara Kolani Katamanayaka.

### His Political Relations

No political events of Katama's reign are available. Katama was loyal to the Imperial cholas—his contemporary being Kulottunga II. He may have participated in the battle on the Godavari between the Cholas and the Chalukyas, on the side of the former along with the other subordinate rulers in Vengi and had a share in ending the Chalukyan power in Vengi.

### Somanayaka A.D. 1151-1195

The relationship of Somanayaka to his predecessor Katamanayaka is not known. He was the first Saronatha to bear a prasasti. His earliest inscription<sup>17</sup> is from Ganapavaram dated A.D. 1151. The two records<sup>18</sup> at Ganapavaram dated A.D. 1165 and the 20th year of Rajaraja respectively may belong to his reign. Somanaya's next inscription is from Palakal dated A.D. 1192, mentioning Kesavadeva.<sup>19</sup> In the record of A.D. 1194, Erakamahadevi, the queen of mahamandalika Somanayaka, figures as the donor.<sup>20</sup> Somanaya's last record is from Ganapavaram dated A.D. 1195<sup>21</sup> mentioning him as Kolani mandalika Somayāraju.

## His Political Relations

The loyalty of the Kolanu rulers to the Cholas is evidenced by Somaya's record dated in the 20th year of Rajaraja II. Somaya styled himself Kamalakarapuravallabha and his epithet Manniyadevendra<sup>22</sup> i.e. Indra to Manniyachiefs, attests his ruler. Towards the close of his reign from A.D. 1192, Somaya associated Kesava in ruling the kingdom, for he issued records in that year.

### Kesavadeva A.D. 1196-1233

Probably Kesava was named after God Kesava at Ellore. Among all the Saronathas, he issued the largest number of Inscriptions. Two records of his initial year A.D. 1196<sup>23</sup> mention him as mahamandaleavara kolanimandalika kesavadeva and his mother chamambika mahadevi and queen Sommambikamahadevi. Kesava's palakol inscription dated A.D. 1197<sup>24</sup> gives him the epithet Bhujabala Bhima. His sister was Tantasani. His Draksharama record dated 1200 A.D.<sup>25</sup> mentions his father Viddebhupa, and his palakol inscription dated A.D. 1212<sup>26</sup> mentions him as the ruler of the country from the Himalayas to the Ocean and a destroyer of enemies, and his son Pota, the lord of Varijakarapura. Kesava's record<sup>27</sup> from Nattaramesvaram dated A.D. 1218 mentions his two sons—the eldest Kommayakumara and Somaya kumara, besides Potaya. The next record is from Elurpadu dated A.D. 1228. In one of his record from Palakol dated A.D. 1229, Kesava is mentioned as Dharani valayamkudukesava.<sup>28</sup> His last record is from Palakol dated A.D. 1233.

## His Political Relations

Kesava had a reign of forty years. He bore the usual kolani prasasti. Of his sons—Potaya, and Somaya were probably provincial governors and Kommaya the crown prince in his reign and find mention in records dated between the years A.D. 1212 and 1218. Kesava must have strengthened his power at the expense of the Velanandus who were declining in this period. He does not seem to have recognised the Choda

overlordship, nor that of the Kakatiyas. In a palakol inscription dated A.D. 1231. Ellore appears as Kolanuvidus.<sup>29</sup>

### Mangayadevamja A.D. 1243

During the decade from A.D. 1233 to 1243 nothing is known about the Kolanu kingdom or its rulers. It is not possible to see the circumstances that prevented the sons of Kesava from succession to the throne. In A.D. 1243, mahamandalesvara Kolanimandalika Mangayadevaraja figures in a record<sup>30</sup> from Ganapavaram. His relationship to Kesava or his sons is not apparent. His rule may have lasted up to A.D. 1260—the earliest date for his successor Yeragayadevaraja.

### Yeragayadevaraju. A.D. 1260

Mahamandalesvara Yeragayadevaraja is known from a single inscription at Juttiga dated A.D. 1260<sup>31</sup> King Manma is heard of from another record at Juttiga. It is not known whether he is a kolanu ruler,

*End of the Kolanu Kingdom :-* The Kolanu kingdom finally fell a prey to the Kakatiya expeditions under Ganapati and Rudradeva. The suggestion<sup>32</sup> it was conquered by the Kakatiya general during the Velanandu conquest about A.D. 1212 to 1213 is disproved by the reigns of Kesava and his successors. Kolanu was taken by the Kakatiyas after Yeragaya, though his attempts towards that end began as early as A.D. 1214.

### The Second Kolanu dynasty—The Inulure Family

The records of the Kakatiyas and Sivayogasara by Kolani Adiganapatideva form the sources for the History of the second Kolanu dynasty. The Induluri family an important feudatory power of the Kakatiyas was related to them by alliances of marriage. Its members were ministers of the Kakatiyas from the time of Prola II to Prataparudra.

*None gaurya*, the lord of Indulur had two sons *Pedamalla* and *Plamalla* both in the service of Rudradeva of the

Kakatiyas. Pdamalla had two sons—Soma and Prelaganna, of whom Soma was in the service of Rudradeva of the Kakatiyas.

Pdamalla had two sons—*Soma* and *Pedaganna*, of whom Soma was in the service of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. The political achievements of Soma were remarkable. At the head of vast armies, Soma conquered the tracts to the east of Warangal, took Gopulanadu and Kolanuvidu fortress, crossed the Gautami conquered the two Modes, twelve manniyas and parts of Kalinga. As he drove off, the lords of Kolanu and made it his own, he came to be known as Kolani Soma.<sup>33</sup> This the Induluri chief who came in possession of Kolanu was Soma. From that time Kolanu became the family name instead of Induluru.<sup>34</sup>

*Manma ganna*, the son of Soma was a general-dandadhinatha in the reign of Rudrama, and had three sons—*Rudradeva*, *Irumodi* and *Mummadi*.<sup>35</sup> *Rudradeva* and *Annaya*, the son of Peda Ganna, the brother of Kolani Boma, were the ministers of Prataparudra.<sup>36</sup> These two ministers always acted together and their victories were great. They conquered the kings of Mopur and took the title Rachauhattamalla captured many forts—sthala, Jala, giri and vana, Vanquished the Muslims, and protected the fort of Prataparudra.<sup>37</sup> The kings of Mopur were probably some Telugu chola princes, who were subdued during the Kakatiya conquest of the Renadu. The victory of Annaya over the Muslims was evidently on one of the many occasions of the Muslim attacks on Warangal in the reign of Prataparudra. During the first Muslim invasion into the Telugu Country as under the lead of Malikkapur the general of Alauddin Khilji.

*Annayo rule*—Annaya ruled the country from the eastern gate of waranges to Simhadrisima,<sup>38</sup> i.e. the tracts about Simhaachalam. His titles were—Gajapatigajasimha, mururayarajagadadiganda, Jagamartyaganda, Sambetangaya, Kaliyugabhima, Mandalika and Rayachauhattamlla.<sup>39</sup> Annaya claims to have Vanquished Gajapati the king of Kalinga, killed the Panchapandyas, and taken Olacherla and Suravaram in Vengi. He kept his relatives as rulers in seventy two forts. He placed Gannayendra in Kolanividu and other forts: Parvatamalla, his brother-in-law in the fort at Rajahmundry Revana, the son-in-law of Manma Gannaya and Mangiraju in

Nujella.<sup>40</sup> Annaya was the son-in-law of Rudramadevi of the Kakatiyas as he married Ruyyembaner (adopted) daughter.<sup>41</sup>

### Kolani Rudra

Rudra, the elder brother of Anna ruled the country from warangal to Simhachalam with capital at Kolanividu. His sway extended over Chebrole, Padinapuram. Devapurapukota, Jayavadi Yenamandala, Kancherla. Podile. Nugundudu, Podakanuru. Olacherla, Aduru, Nujella. Suravaram, Ramachandrapuram is Rajahmundry Bodasakuru, Bendapudi<sup>42</sup> etc. This list roughly indicates the extent of his kingdom including the parts of Guntur, Nellore, Godavari and Vizagapatam districts.

Rudra bore the epithets—Chauhattamalla. Iruvattuganda, and the conqueror of the Panchapandiyas—Vira, Marva, Sundara, Vikramesa and Ballaha.<sup>43</sup> He is mentioned as the lord of the seventy—two forts (Bahattari durgas) of Prataparudra. A record of Rudra is dated A.D. 1326.<sup>44</sup> He had two sons—Ganapati and Aubala. Nannayamba, the wife of Ganapati was the daughter of Appayabatya and Grand-daughter of chamaraja Entitled Chauhattamalla; Kolanu Ganapati had three sons Annayadeva. Rudra, Adimula, and two daughters, Mallambika and Gaurama who were married to Bacherla Dochana and Nagaya respectively.

Aubala, the brother of Ganapati married Kommamambika the daughter of Visvanatha. Adimula, the son of Ganapati married the daughters of his uncles and by Elambika had Adiganapatideva. Perhaps Adiganapati was the last to rule over Kolanu as no sons and successors of him are heard of.

The family of Guru Indulari Nakkanaradhyadeva to whom Adiganapati dedicated his Sivayogesvara, was in the service of the Eastern Chalukyas of Nidadavole and contracted alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas and the Kolanu rulers. The ancestry of Nukaya is as follows<sup>45</sup> In Venginadu was Nukanyaya. His son was Ballepreggada who was a minister in the service of the kings of Niravadyapuram ie. Nidadavole. His son was Nagamantri, also a minister of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole. Nukaraju was the son of Nagamantri and had two sons Nagaya and Vallebhendra. Gauri the wife of Nagaya

was the daughter of Ganapati, the son of Kolanu Rudra. The son of Nagaya by her was Nakaya who had two wives Gauridevi, the daughter of Pidikommaraju<sup>46</sup> and another Lakshmi-devi.

*Later Kolanus* :— From a record at Peravali dated A.D. 1411, Kolani Rachanna, son of Kolani Bhimanarya<sup>47</sup> is known. Kolani Ramanna<sup>48</sup> is heard of from another record also at Peravali dated A.D. 1417. It appears that Ramanna and Rachanna are identical, as the two records seem to be one as the cyclic year in bothhevilambi is same. Living in the 15th Century A.D, this Kolanu chief must have recognised the suzerainty of the Reddis of Rajahmundry, supreme in this period in the Telugu country.

One of the titles of Racherla family<sup>49</sup> is Kolanivitivirakshatranu Vijayapramada. The vipparla family<sup>50</sup> had the title—Kolanipuramahipalakasirahkridavinoda. One of the epithets borne by the Alagucherla family<sup>51</sup> is mridumakolanivirakshetranobharatikamalla, and the Dachurulla<sup>52</sup> family had the title—Kolanimanniya talagonduganda. The names of the individuals of these family, who acquired victories over Kolanu and its rulers, and the time and circumstances, which brought about these results are not known. Probably during the conquest of Kolanu in the reign of Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas by Induluri Soma, members of the Racherla, the Vipparla, the blagacharla, and the Danchanulla families all feudatories of the Kakatiyas, accompanied him participated in the expedition and assumed the epithets signifying their victory over Kolanuvidu ie. Sarasipura<sup>53</sup> and its rulers not known to us. As has been suggested already,<sup>54</sup> the identification of Kolanividu with Kolanupaka ie. Kulpak in Nizam's dominions is wrong. Kolanuvidu is the viduie town built in the midst of Kolanu lake.

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# The Chalukyas

The Chalukyas in Andhradesa, other than the Vengi chalukyas, held sway from about A.D. 925 to 1596. They were the Chalukyas of Pithapur, Panchadharala. Yelamanchili, Srikurram and Niravadyapura and those in the interior of the Guntur district. Some dynasties in Southern Kalinga, and some princes in South India claimed Eastern Chalukya descent and assumed Chalukya titles. The Chalukyas in Andhra in common with the Andhrabhritas, the Kadambas and the Vengi Chalukyas claimed to belong to Manevyasagotra and descent from Harita. They owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Vengi, the Chalukya Cholas, the Kalyani Chalukyas and the Gangas of Kalinga and acquired significant political successes.

### The Chalukyas of Pithapur A.D. 925-1226

The Chalukyas of Pithapur ruled the country from Pithapur to Simhachalam with capital at Pithapur for nearly three centuries from A.D. 925 to 1226. The dynasty which branched off from the Vengi chalukyas with Betavijayaditya V,<sup>1</sup> produced many rulers who were capable warriors and administrators. They maintained political relations with the Gangas, the cholas, and the Haihayas besides the minor kingdoms in Vengi, and other Chalukyas in Vengi and south Kalinga.

*The condition of Vengi in the 10th Century A.D. was as*

follows—Amma I on the Chalukyas throne was succeeded by his son Betavijayaditya V in 925 A.D. who reigned for fifteen days when the throne was seized by Tadapa, of the junior branch. After a month Tadapa was assassinated by Vikramaditya II whose reign lasted for eleven months.<sup>2</sup> Then a civil war ensued, the king was defeated and the throne was occupied by his grand nephew Bhima II who had the best claim to the throne in the absence of Vijayaditya V. Bhima II, after a rule for eight months, was killed by Yuddhamalla, son of Tadapa who reigned for seven years (A.D. 927-934) and was ousted by Bhima III who ruled from 934 to 945 A.D. His successor Amma II ruled from 945 to 968 A.D. After the reign of Danarnava from A.D. 968 to 971, the period of Anarchy of twenty-seven years followed which ended with the accession of Saktivarman in 999 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

*Origin and rise of the dynasty*—The Chalukya records give the complete genealogy of the Chalukyas from the moon to Vikramachoda. Between the moon and Panduraja were thirty seven names, then the five Pandavas ruled and Udayaka, the last of the seven descendants of Arjuna was followed by the eleven emperors in Ayodhya. King Vijayaditya of this<sup>4</sup> family came to the south and lost his life in the hands of Trilochanapallava. Then follows the account of the rise of the Chalukas. Among the Chalukya king Vijayaditya I (749-768 A.D.) fought 108 battles, Gunagavijayaditya was surnamed Tribhuvanankusa and Chalukyas Bhima was the victor of 360 battles.<sup>5</sup> *Beta Vijayaditya V*, the seventeenth ruler was the originator of the Chalukyas of Pithapur.

### Beta Vijayaditya V. A.D. 925

Vijayaditya V was also known as Kanthika Beta, as he wore a necklace (Kantika) as a symbol of his appointment as their apparent. After a brief rule as Chalukya emperor he retired from the scene of war succession to the Chalukyan throne and founded the Pithapur branch. The Maliyapupi inscription says that Vijayaditya V was banished by Bhima III. Whatever the causes were, retirement of Vijayaditya from the Chalukya politics shows that he was wise and could measure correctly

his strength as against that of the enemy and the improbability of his success.

### Satyasraya

Satyasraya was the son and successor of Vijayaditya V at Pithapur though the date of his enthronement is not known. In the light of this, the statement, "It seems more probable that Satyasraya lived about one hundred and fifty years later than his Chalukyan ancestor,"<sup>6</sup> became accepting that Satyasraya was the son of Beta V "allows only five generations between A.D. 925 and 1202"<sup>7</sup> falls to ground. The Pithapur pillar inscription shows that Satyasraya had another name Uttama Chalukya<sup>8</sup> Gauri, the queen of Satyasraya was a princess of the Ganga family and "may have been related to Eastern Ganga king Anantavarman alias Chodaganga of Kallinga (A.D. 1078)" as has been suggested already.<sup>9</sup> Satyasraya had seven sons—Vijayaditya, Vimaladitya, Vikramaditya; Vishnuvardhana, Mallapa, Kama and Rajamartanda.<sup>10</sup> There is no evidences to fix the chronology of the reign.

### Vijayaditya II A.D. 1123-24

Vijayaditya II, the eldest son of Stayasraya succeeded him on the throne. None of his records are available. He married Vijayamadevi, a princess of the solar race<sup>11</sup> probably of the Cholas lineage and by her had three sons—Vishnuvardhana, Mallapadeva and Samideva. In A.D. 1123 Vijayaditya II was succeeded by the eldest son Vishnuvardhana.

### Vishnuvurdhana A.D. 1123-24-1145

Vishnuvardhana was the first king of the dynasty, whose inscriptions are available. The Godavari copper plate grant<sup>12</sup> is definite that Vishnuvardhana succeeded his father which sets at nought the doubts about his place in the Chalukya genealogy. One auther<sup>13</sup> makes him the successor of Vijayaditya II, another says that he was probably the uncle of Vijayaditya III of the Pithapur Chalukyas and the epigraphist says "as his name is not found in the usual lists, he was.

probably an ancestor of Mallapa III of Pithapur epigraph.” But these doubts disappear as the records of Vishnuvardhana help us to fix the Chronology of the reign.

Vishnuvardhana's records are dated in his regnal years. The earliest inscription is from Tanuku dated A.D. 1141 and the 15th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana.<sup>14</sup> The second inscription of the reign is also from Tanuku dated A.D. 1142 and the 17th year of the king.<sup>15</sup> The Rajahmundry inscription dated A.D. 1145 and the 21th year of Sarvalokasrava Vishnuvardhana maharaja mentions Pattisapunadu.<sup>16</sup> As none of the records of Vishnuvardhana dated after A.D. 1145 are available, his reign lasting for twenty one years must have begun in A.D. 1124.

### His Political Relations

Vishnuvardhana was a strong ruler. He is spoken of as “an ornament of the lunar race (i.e. the Chalukyas family)”<sup>17</sup> The Eastern Chalukya kingdom ceased to exist by this time, perhaps this encouraged Vishnuvardhana to assume their titles and issue grants dated in his own regnal years. The contemporary Chola emperors were Vikramachola and Kulotunga II. It is likely that Vishnuvardhana owed allegiance to the Chalukya cholas and helped them and Gonka II of the Velanandus in terminating the Western Chalukya rule in Vengi between A.D. 1127 and 1139. We have no evidence whether Vishnuvardhana, in the early part of his reign, had to acknowledge the Chalukya yoke under Vikramaditya VI and Somesvara III along with the Konahaihayas, the Kolana rulers and others.

### Mallapa II. A.D. 1145-1158

Mallapa II was the second son of Vijayaditya and succeeded Vishnuvardhana in A.D. 1145. Sewell says “Here the plate is injured and the connection is lost between this prince and his successor Mallapadeva.” The Godavari c.p. grant wrongly makes Mallapa II, the son and successor of Vishnuvardhana. Mallapa was a capable ruler. The Pithapur pillar inscription

saya that among the three sons of Vijayaditya II, Mallapa possessed royal splendour, great valour and was a wrestler with all the enemies in the world. Mallapa married Chandala Devi, the daughter of Prince Brahman of the Haihayas of Sagaravishaya. After rule of thirteen years—till A.D. 1158 he was succeeded by Vijayaditya III.

### Vijayaditya III. A.D. 1158-1202

Vijayaditya III was the greatest among the Chalukyas of Pithapur and enjoyed a long reign of fifty years. He issued the largest number of inscriptions. The actual day of his appointment or coronation is given as Magha, bright fortnight tenth tithi, rohini and minalagna. But the year may be either S 1049 or 1079 as Jaladhi in the chronogram may mean either four or seven. Saka year 1049 expired, corresponds to Saturday, 14th January A.D. 1128 and s 1079 expired corresponds to Saturday, 11th January A.D. 1158. The earlier date is unacceptable for it gives Vijayaditya a long reign of seventy-five years, and Vishnuvardhana was ruling at Pithapur at that time, and Mallapa after him, although one cannot agree with the epigraphist when he says "It looks as if the date of the accession of Vijayaditya III was intentionally pushed back to S 1049 for this was the year of the death of Vikramachoda, the last representative of the direct line mentioned in the inscription and in that in reality Vijayaditya III may have begun to reign at a much later date."<sup>18</sup> So the initial year of Vijayaditya was a 1079 or A.D. 1158 as has been suggested by Kialhorn and the Epigraphist already.

The earliest record of the reign of Vijayaditya is from Bhimavaram dated A.D 1158 mentioning a Chalukya maharaja. The next record also from Bhimavaram dated A.D. 1176 mentions Vijayaditya, the son of King Malla—Vikramaditya and the lord of Vengi, and his son Rajanraendra.<sup>19</sup> In the Draksharama inscription, also of A.D. 1176 the King and his son appear as Vishnuvardhanamaharaja and Narendra.<sup>20</sup> The next Inscription also from Draksharama dated A.D. 1177 and the 2nd year of Vishnuvardhana refers to the kingdom of Vijayaditya.<sup>21</sup> Another record of Vijayaditya of this year is at

Bhimavaram. Two records<sup>22</sup> there dated in the 3rd year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana maharaja, record gifts her Mallapadeva Chakravarthi. The next record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1179 and the 2nd year of Vishnuvardhana maharaja.<sup>23</sup> The second year is a mistake for the fourth year. A record of the 6th year of Vishnuvardhana maharaja is from Draksharama. The latest records<sup>24</sup> of Vijayaditya are at Draksharama dated in the 9th and the 10th years of Vishnuvardhanamaharaja.

### Vijayaditya's Political Relations

In the Godavari copper plate grant,<sup>25</sup> Vijayaditya is described as the moon to the ocean i.e. the Chalukya lineage and the lord of the Vengi country. His two sons Mallapa III and Narendra, by his two queens Lakshmi and Ganga respectively, began to issue inscriptions from A.D. 1176 and Mallapa's records are found in a continuous series from his second year to the 10th year i.e. A.D. 1177 to 1183. This shows that Vijayaditya associated the two princes in the administration of the kingdom from A.D. 1176 to the close of his reign.

The contemporary rulers of Vijayaditya in other kingdoms were Raghava (A.D. 1152-1167), Anantavarman Rajaraja II (A.D. 1167-1192) and Aniyanka Bhima (A.D. 1192-1202) on the Ganga throne in Kalinga, Rajaraja II. Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III on the Chola throne, Gonka II, Choda II, Gonka III and Prithvisvara on the Velanandu throne, Loka (A.D. 1150-1175) and Bhima III (A.D. 1150-1168), Mallideva I (A.D. 1175-1231) and Manmasatya II (A.D. 1182-1231) on the Haihaya throne in Kondamandala. besides many other smaller kings in Vengi Vijayaditya does not seem to have come into conflict with any ruler but reigned in undisturbed peace.

### Mallapa III A.D. 1202-1223

After serving for a period of twenty-six years in the governance of the kingdom in the reign of Vijayaditya, Mallapa began to rule independently as his successor from A.D. 1202. His Sarpavaram inscription dated A.D. 1202 and the 9th year of Vishnuvardhana maharaja,<sup>26</sup> falls prior to his coronation.

The Pithapur pillar inscription, the earliest record of Mallapa III after he became ruler, mentions his grant of Gudivada in the district of prolunandu to the deity on the occasion of his anointment in the temple of Kuntimadhava at Pithapur.<sup>27</sup> The king in this is mentioned as Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja alias Mallapa deva chakravarti. His Godavari copper plate grant is similar, in terms to the Pithapur pillar epigraph with the difference that his mother is mentioned as Lakshmi in this whereas, Ganga in the other. The next inscription is from Bhimavaram dated in the 39th year of Mallapa which calculating from his first year in his father's reign falls, in A.D. 1213.<sup>28</sup> A record undated and incomplete at Bhimavaram mentions Mallapadeva and his father Vijayaditya III.<sup>29</sup> Three records at Draksharama mention Vishnuvardhana and may belong to his region. Though none of Mallapa's records are found after A.D. 1213, his reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1223 when he was succeeded on the throne by his son Udayachandra.

### His Political Relations

Mallapa III assumed the title—Rajaparamesvara, Karavalabhairava, and a full moon to the ocean i.e. the race of the Chalukyas.<sup>30</sup> His contemporaries were Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III of the Cholas, Ganapati of the Kakatiyas and Prithvisvara of the Velanandu chodas. We have no evidence of the hostility of Mallapa to any of these kings. The rulers of Malaya were the feudatories of Mallapa III. For, the Godavari copper plate grant<sup>31</sup> shows that Malayamu Mahadeva owed allegiance to Mallapa III.

Mallapa, like his father Vijayaditya, was a strong and popular ruler. Recorded tradition has preserved the permanent marks of his rule. The Kaiyats<sup>32</sup> of some of the villages in the East Godavari district mention the king as Vishnuvardhana and Mallapa deva chakravarti and the year of his coronation, and say that he ruled for ten years, as no records of his, are found after that period.

### Udayachandra alias Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1223-1226

Udayachandra alias Vishnuvardhana had a brief reign of three years. His earliest inscription<sup>33</sup> is from Bhimavaram

dated A.D. 1223 mentioning him as Udayachandradeva Chakravarti alias Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja. His only other record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1125 mentioning his father Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhanamaharaja alias Gonaga chakravarti.<sup>34</sup> The rule of Udayachandra must have ended in A.D. 1226, the earliest date for his successor chandrasekhara chakravarti.

No events of importance of the reign of Udayachandra are known. Probably his kingdom was secure from the invasions of the Kakatiyas.

#### **Chandrasekharadeva chakravarti A.D. 1226-A.D. 1246**

In his only inscription from Draksharama dated A.D. 1226, king Chandrasekhara is mentioned as Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Chandrasekharadeva chakravarti. His minister Purushottamanayaka, the son of Kaminayaka figures in the record.<sup>35</sup> The relationship of Chandrasekhara to his predecessor Udayachandra is not stated anywhere, but probably he was an younger brother of Udayachandra. Though his records after A.D. 1226 are not found, nevertheless in the absence of evidence to the contrary his reign may be taken to have lasted till A.D. 1246, the earlier date for his successor Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya.

#### **Vijayaditya IV. A.D. 1246-1255**

An incomplete record at Sarpavaram dated A.D. 1255, and the 9th year of Vishnuvardhana<sup>36</sup> mentions a Chalukya prince whose identity is not known. No doubt this Vishnuvardhana is Vijayaditya. From a record at Iragavaram<sup>37</sup> dated A.D. 1247 a minister of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja is heard of. Four Princes Rajahmaharaja, Eralakshmiraja, Vengisvara and Pinalakshmiraja figure in a record of the reign of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja Vijayaditya deva at Acharta.<sup>38</sup> Probably a Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya ruled the kingdom of the Chalukya as of Pithapur from A.D. 1246 to 1255 which was his 9th year. If so, the relationship of Vijayaditya to Chandrasekhara is not known. It seems probable that he was an younger brother of Chandrasekhara and the son of Mallapa III named after his

grand father Vijayaditya III. Vijayaditya II is not heard of after A.D. 1255. The relationship of the four princess to Vijayaditya is not known. The direct line of the Chalukyas of Pithapur ended with Vijayaditya IV. In a record from Palakol, dated A.D. 1596 a Vishnuvardhana maharaja is mentioned.<sup>39</sup> This is no doubt a late example of the occurrence of the name Vishnuvardhana.<sup>40</sup>

### **The End of the Chalukyas of Pithapur**

The decline of the Pithapur kingdom was complete after the close of Vijayaditya's reign in A.D. 1255. The second half of the 13th century A.D. in Vengi history was one of the decline of many a local dynasty and increase of the power of the Kakatiya and the Telugu Choda kingdoms. None of the Chalukyas owed allegiance to the Kakatiyas in their records, which are dated in their own regnal years including those of the last king Vijayaditya IV. So probably after Vijayaditya, whose sons or successors are not heard of, the Chalukya territories came under Ganpati of the Kakatiyas.

### **The Chalukyas of Elamanchiti A.D. 1150-1530**

A branch of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi ruled over a part of the Vizagapatam district for nearly four centuries—from the 12th to 16th with capitals at Panchadharala and Elamanchiti. The dynasty produced not less than fifteen kings who were eminent warriors and administrators. Unlike the Chalukyas of pithapur, the Chalukyas of Elamanchili achieved some important military victories. Under their long rule, the kingdom enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Chalukyas, though formally owed allegiance to the Eastern Gangas, were practically independant for all purposes. In the midst of the local powers in Kalinga and the major dynasties—the Kakatiyas and the Yadavas, the Chalukyas held an eminent place in the contemporary history of Vengi and south India.

### **Origin and rise of the Dynasty**

Stone records, some being elaborate pillar inscriptions and literature-contemporary—the only work, Kavyalankarachud—

amani by Vinnakota Peddana—from the sources for the political history of these Chalukyas.

**The Descent of the Dynasty is as follows<sup>41</sup>**

From Vishnu's naval lotus was born Brahma. Brahma's son was Atri. To Atri was born Buddha whose son was Pururavas. One of the descendants of Pururavas was Pandu. Pandu's son was Arjuna whose son was Abhimanyu. Abhimanyu's son was Parikshit whose son was Janamajaya. In Janamajaya's race was born Vishnuvardhana and in his lineage Chalukya Bhima I.<sup>42</sup> In Chalukya Bhima's race was born Vimaladitya—the ruler of the country between the Vindhya and the ocean. His son was Rajaraja I alias Rajamahendra.<sup>43</sup> His son was Kulottunga I.<sup>44</sup>

#### **Vijayaditya A.D. 1175**

Born in the lineage of Kulottunga I, Vijayaditya was the first ancestor of the direct line of the Chalukyas of Elamanchili. He is compared to the rising sun. His Son by Chandambika was Mallapadeva. Sewell places Vijayaditya about A.D. 1170 on the basis that he was “of the family of Kulottunga choda I.”<sup>45</sup> But the date may not be correct as it is not supported by evidence.

#### **Mallapadeva A.D. 1200**

Mallapadeva was the son and successor of Vijayaditya I. None of his records are available. The chronology of the reign is uncertain. It has been stated that “the date of accession of Mallapa I—A.D. 1175 is fixed by a record of his 3rd year at Bhimavaram in the Godavari district.”<sup>46</sup> But the record belongs to the Chalukyas of Pithapur and consequently to place the reign of Mallapa from A.D. 1175 to 1225 is not precise as it is not supported by any evidence. Entitled Sarvalokasraya, Mallapa I was succeeded by his son Upendra I.

#### **Upendra I A.D. 1266**

The upper limit of the reign of Upendra I was A.D. 1266. Sewell gives the lower limit as A.D. 1225<sup>47</sup> which is unsupported.

by evidence. Upendra I had the titles—Karavala bhairava and Dharanivaraha which indicate his valour in the battle fields against his enemies. His only record is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1266<sup>18</sup> mentioning his parents Mangiraja and Lakshmidēvi, and himself as Upendraraja. Thus Mallapa I was also known as Mangiraja. Upendra I was succeeded on the throne by Mallapadeva II, his son by Ganapambika.

#### **Mallapadaya II A.D. 1266-1282**

The rule of Mallapa II lasted from A.D. 1266—the last date for Upendra I, to A.D. 1282, the earliest date for Upendra II. Sewell's dated A.D. 1250<sup>49</sup> therefore, is too early for Mallapa II. The son of Mallapa by Chodambika was Upendra II who succeeded him in A.D. 1282-83.

#### **Upendra II A.D. 1282-83 C 1300**

Upendra II was a more enlightened ruler than his predecessors. His only inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1283<sup>50</sup> mentioning him as Upendra deva chakravarti and his father as Sarvalokasraya Sri Vishnuvardhana maharaja Mallapadeva. His titles were—Rajasakhara, Chalukya-kulabhushanna, and Chalukyavamsakshitipatitilaka. Upendra was succeeded by Koppa, his son by Mallambika, probably about A.D. 1300.

#### **Koppa A.D. 1300-1356**

Koppadeva had the epithets—Rajananarayana Paragandabhairava and a great Chalukya.<sup>51</sup> His son by queen Ganga was Upendra III. His eventless reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1356—the earliest date for Upendra III.

#### **Upendra III A.D. 1356-1372**

The only record<sup>52</sup> of Upendra is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1356 mentioning him as Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhanamaharaja alias Upendra Chakravarti. His titles were—Rajananarayana, Sarvalokabhirama, of chalukyakula and the possessor of Varahalanchala. By his queen Bimbamba he had

two sons—Chennesa and Manumapendra.<sup>53</sup> His reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1372, the earliest dated for his son and successor Chennesa.

#### **Chennesa A.D. 1372**

A record at Simhachalam dated A.D. 1372<sup>54</sup> mentions the king as Elumanchi Chennesvaradeva and his queen Mummadanda. Chennesa had two sons—Chodendra or Chodaganga by Mallamba<sup>55</sup> and Upendradeva chakravarti by Mummadarya. The upper limit of his reign is not known. Chennesa was the first ruler to prefix Elamanchilli to his name. Probably he shifted the Capital from Panchadharala to Elamanchili.

#### **Manumopendra IV A.D. 1300**

The second son of Upendra III, Mauumopendra succeeded his brother on the throne may be about A.D. 1300. The Panchadharala pillar inscription<sup>56</sup> gives a hyperbolical description of his enthronement. A capable ruler, a follower of Kshatriya dharma and adored by other kings Upendra bore the titles—Rajasekhara, Sarvanjna and Sankara. His son by Lakkambika was Visvesvaradeva Chakravarti.

#### **Upendra V. A.D. 1377**

Manumopendra IV was succeeded by Upendra V, the eldest son of Chennesa. No inscriptions of Upendra V are available. He by queen Atyamamba had three sons. Upendra VI, Nagendra and Narasimha. It is likely that the last date for Upendra V is 1377 A.D.<sup>57</sup> which is also the earliest date for his successor Visvesvara. It may be supposed that his rule began from about A.D. 1325.

#### **Visvesvara (A.D. 1377-1407) and Choda Ganga (A.D. 1391-1417)**

Visvesvara had a reign of thirty years during the latter part of which Chodaganga, the younger brother of Upendra V became his associate ruler. Visvesvara ruled singly till A.D. 1391 and together with Choda Ganga from 1391 to 1407.

From A.D. 1407 to 1417 Choda Ganga ruled by himself. The earliest inscription of Visvesvara is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1377 mentioning him as Visvesvara Bhupati, a moon to the fourth caste and the bearer of the titles - Sarvalokasraya-Chakravarti and Vishnuvardhana. His queen was Manumarudra. The next inscription<sup>58</sup> from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1388 mentions Elamanachi Maharaja and Lakkamadevi, and their daughter Ambikadevi. This Ambika was evidently a sister of Visvesvara and the record shows that Manmaopendra was also known as Elamanchi Maharaju. The next record of the reign is that of Chodaganga dated A.D. 1391 from Simhachalam, mentioning him as Sarvalokasraya Sri Vishnuvardhana maharaja alias Elammanchi choda Gangadevaraju. He was a warrior and destroyer of enemies. No more records of Chodendra are available for the rest of his reign up to A.D. 1417 when he was succeeded by Nagendra. The record of Visvesvara, dated A.D. 1401 or 1402 from Simhachalam refers to him as King Somanatha of the lunar race and Elamanchi Visvesvaradeva chakravarti.<sup>59</sup> His last record is the Panchadharala pillar inscription dated A.D. 1407.<sup>60</sup> It records the only significant political event of the reign that Visvesvara defeated the Andhras at Sarvasiddhi in A.D. 1402 which is corroborated by literary evidence also.

### Political Relations

Visvesvara was variously known as Visvanatha, Visvanripa, and Visvesa. His epithets were - Sarvalokasraya, Rayagana-gopala, dharanivaraha, rajanarayana, Vishnuvardhana, Karvalabhairava and Sarvajna.<sup>61</sup> He was a good swordsman and administrator.

In A.D. 1402 king Visvesvara overcame the Andhra army in the region of Sarvasiddhi.<sup>62</sup> Kavyalankarachudamani says that<sup>63</sup> the group of kings - rachakadupu from Sarvasiddhi were defeated by Dharanivaraha i.e. king Visvesvara. Sarvasiddhi lies at a distance of 7 miles from Panchadharala and 5 1/2 miles south, Southwest of Elamanchile.<sup>64</sup> As for the date of the battle the cyclic year is chitrabhanu, the saka year in

the Chronogram in the inscription is interpreted to mean 1325<sup>65</sup> by taking Jaki to represent the numeral 'five'. But the last figure must be four for the word gati, according to Sankhyarthenamaprakasika by Kanuparti Venkatarama Srividynandhanandha and epigraphical literature as evidenced from a few records in the Telugu country represents four.<sup>66</sup> This is supported by literature where the term Chaturupaya is used which definitely means four (devices).<sup>67</sup> So in S 1324 Chitrabhanu - A.D. 1402 Visvesvara had a overwhelming victory over the Andhras near Savvasiddhi.<sup>68</sup> These Andhra enemies of visvesvara are not specified either in the record or in the poem. In this period the Reddis of Rajahmundry under Katayavema were extending the bounds of their kingdom especially in the direction of Kalinga in its southern part - over which the control of the weak Ganga emperors was practically nil. The Reddi victories in Kalinga are attested by their records and literature and the allegiance to them of the local dynasties like the Matsyas, as the Gangas of Jantarnadu etc. Probably in an expedition of conquest in 1402 A.D. into Kalinga, the Reddis and their subordinates suffered a severe reverse at Sarvasiddhi in the Chalukya hands under the leadership of Visvesvara. The achievement was quite important for the Chalukyas as it is seen from its being mentioned with the date of occurrence in an inscription and literature. Probably the grants of Visvesvara to the celebrated temple at Simhachalam were after this victory made as a thanks offering. It is likely that Chodaganga, the joint ruler with Visvesvaraparticipated in this war. Or else the Andhras may refer to the Velamas - the bearers of the titles - Andhresvara etc, the contemporaries of Visvesvara being Anapota II, Ramachandra and Mada II and Linga, son of Mada II who also led expeditions of conquest into south Kalinga frequently.<sup>69</sup>

During the period of the rule of Chodaganga from A.D. 1407 to 1417, no political events of importance occurred. Probably this Chodaganga was named after Anantavarman Chodaganga or later Ganga princes bearing that name. He does not appear to have owed allegiance to the Ganga emperor Virabhanu IV.

**Nagendra chakravarti A.D. 1417-1422**

No sons of Visvesvara are heard of—Chodaganga was succeeded by Nagendradeva chakravarti in A.D. 1417. The earliest inscription of Nagendra is from Panchadharala, dated A.D. 1417 mentioning him as Vishnuvardhana maharaja alias Nagendrachakravarti.<sup>70</sup> No more of records are available. His queens were Anyamadevi and Bhavanidevi and his son by the latter was Kumara Erramanayaka.<sup>71</sup> His reign may have lasted till A.D. 1422—the earliest date for his successor Narasimhamahadeva Chakravarti.

**Narasimha A.D. 1422-1437**

Narasimha was the last son of Upendra V and succeeded his brother Nagendra Chakravarti on the Chalukya throne. His earliest inscription is from Panchadharala dated A.D. 1422<sup>72</sup> mentioning him as Vishnuvardhana maharaja alias Narasimhadeva chakravarti. His next inscription is also from Panchadharala, dated A.D. 1428,<sup>73</sup> describing him as Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana maharaja of the lunar race.

**His Political Relations**

The reign of Narasimha was co-eval with that of the last of the Ganga emperors - Bhanudeva IV and with whom ended the Ganga dynasty in A.D. 1434. Narasimha would not have owed allegiance to him.

**Kumara Errama A.D. 1437-1494**

Kumara Errama, the son of Nagendra chakravarti issued inscriptions from A.D. 1432. So perhaps he was the crown prince and joint ruler with his uncle Narasimha and succeeded him in A.D. 1437. His only inscription is from Panchadharala, dated A.D. 1432 mentioning his gifts to temples at Panchadharala, Peddapuram, Chalukyabhimavaram, Draksharama and Rajahmundry. Errama is mentioned as Sarvalokasraya Erranda. From a record dated A.D. 1494 we know that his son by Singamamba was Singaraja maha-

patra. In the absence of evidence to the contrary the reign of Errama may be considered to have lasted till A.D. 1494 - for a period of fifty six years from 1437 A.D.

### His Political Relations

Kumara Errama bore the epithets—Karavala bhairava, Somakulesvara, Sarvalokasraya and Vishnuvardhana. His contemporary emperors in Kalinga were Kapilesvara and Purushottama of the Gajapatis. Kapilesvara was a minister and general under Bhanudeva IV, usurped the throne in A.D. 1434 and founded the Suryavamsi dynasty. He subdued all the turbulent subordinates and rebels and brought the whole of Kalinga under his control. Kapilesvara successfully extended the kingdom into Telingana subduing the Reddis, the kings of Vijayanagar and the Bahmany Sultans. His son and successor Purushottama followed his father's policy of conquest and extension and advanced as far as Kanchi in the south.<sup>74</sup> No doubt Chalukya Errama owed allegiance to the Gajapatis, though he did not acknowledge it in his records.

### Singaraja A.D. 1494-1530

Singaraja was the son and successor of Errama. His only record is from Panchadharala dated A.D. 1494<sup>75</sup> in which he is mentioned as Simhakshmapati and Singaraja mahapatra. Probably his reign lasted up to A.D. 1530<sup>76</sup> the earliest date for his successor Sridhararaja Narendra

### His Political Relations

The contemporaries of Singa on the Gajapati throne were Purushottama and Prataparudra. Provincial governors, viceroy and subordinate rulers were known as Mahapatras under the Gajapati rule. The suffix Mahapatra to the name of Singa is a positive sign of his subordination to the Gajapatis.

### Sridhararajanarendra A.D. 1530-1538

Sridhararaja Narendra was undoubtedly an Eastern Chalukya chief, probably the son and successor of Singaraja. His only inscription is from Panchadharala dated A.D. 1530.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps

his rule lasted up to A.D. 1538 the earliest date for Harinarendra, his successor.

### **Harinarendra A.D. 1538-1599**

The only inscription of Harinarendra is at Panchadharala dated A.D. 1538.<sup>78</sup> He was the son of Chalukya Sarvaraja and had the titles—Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana maharaja.<sup>79</sup> The relationship of Harinarendra to Sridhara is not known, His rule may have lasted till A.D. 1599. He was the last of the line as no sons and successors of him are heard of.

### **The End**

The Chalukya dynasty of Elamanchili ended with Harinarendra, in A.D. 1599. For a record at Srikuramam of that year records that the Muslims killed Sarvaraja and others in the battle at Chintaplligandi and took the kingdom of Mukunda balendra. The Muslim general who won these victories was Bairamalamanmulk.<sup>80</sup> Evidently along with his father Sarvaraja. Harinarendra too must have been killed. Some Chalukya princes probably of the same dynasty are known from a record at Tirupati<sup>81</sup> in the Godavari district. It mentions Raghudevamahendramahapatra ruling at Rajahmundry under Kapilesvara maharaja.

### **The Chalukyas of Srikurmam A.D. 1150-1310**

The Chalukyas of Srikurmam ruled over a portion of the Ganjam district for a century and a half from the middle of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th with capital at Srikurmam. The dynasty produced half a dozen king who held positions of importance in the Kalingan empire. The Chalukyas contracted alliances of marriage with the Ganga emperors. Not much is known about their political achievements.

### **Origin and rise of the Dynasty**

The records of the Chalukyas of Srikurmam are found mostly in the temples at Srikurmam and Simbachalam. The Srikurmam pillar inscriptions give the early history of this line. Unlike

in the records of the Chalukyas of Elamanchili and Pithapur, the mythical ancestors and the early members of the Vengi Chalukyas are left of, in these records. The genealogy begins with the Chalukya emperor Vimaladitya born in the lunar race.<sup>82</sup> Vimaladitya subdued his enemies and ruled for seven years (A.D. 1015-1022). His son Rajaraja with capital at Rajahmundry<sup>83</sup> ruled for forty years from A.D. 1023 to 1063. He is said to have translated Bharata into Telugu with the help of scholars.<sup>84</sup>

### **Vijayaditya I A.D. 1150**

The inscriptions say that in the race of Rajaraja was born a prince called Vijayaditya I. Vijayaditya belonged to Manavyasa gotra and was a warrior.<sup>85</sup> None of his records are available. He may be placed during the latter half of the 12th century A.D. as his son Rajaraja I was a contemporary of the Ganga emperor Viranarasimha I.

### **Rajaraja I A.D. 1200-1273**

Rajaraja I succeeded his father probably about A.D. 1200. The upper limit of his reign is definite A.D. 1273 when he was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya II. So Rajaraja had a long reign of seventy years. He is said to have been a moon among kings and a Brahma in wisdom.<sup>86</sup> None of his records are available. Rajaraja I had two sons—Vijayaditya II or Vijayarka and Purushottama.<sup>87</sup>

### **Rajaraja I and the Gangas**

The Ganga contemporaries of Rajaraja I were Rajaraja III, the son and successor of Ananga Bhima II, and the ruler from A.D. 1198 to 1212, his son Ananga Bhima III (A.D. 1211-1238), his son Narasimha I (A.D. 1238-1264) and his son and successor Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264-1279). Of these Ganga emperors "Narasimha I (was) the second great king of the dynasty, the first being Anantavarman choda Ganga." The period of the reign of Narasimha I is the most glorious in the annals of the Eastern Ganga dynasty. By taking the offensive against the Musalmans of Bengal, Narasimha I adopted the

only policy that was likely to be successful against the Musalmans of northern India.”<sup>88</sup> As a result of his campaign, the Muslim governors of Bengal respected the Hindus of Orrissa, and the southern districts of Western Bengal namely Midnapur, Howrah and Hooghly became a part of the kingdom of Orissa.<sup>89</sup>

Vijayaditya did not owe allegiance to the Ganga emperors who were not strong in that period. But Rajaraja I was a minister of Viranarasimha I.<sup>90</sup> Probably he participated in the Ganga campaigns against the Muslims of Bengal from A.D. 1243 onwards. We do not know whether Rajaraja I served Ehanvdeva I.

### **Vijayaditya II A.D. 1273-1277**

The eldest son and successor of Rajaraja I, Vijayaditya II had a brief reign of five years. His earliest inscription is from Srikurman dated A.D. 1273<sup>91</sup> referring to him as an emperor, a moon to the ocean. i.e. the Chalukyas race and an Indra in valour. The next inscription also dated A.D. 1273 is from Simhachalam. “It mentions certain ministers and a copper grant issued during the reign of certain Rajaraja deva.” This Rajyraja is undoubtedly Rajaraja I, the father of Vijayaditya II. So A.D. 1273 was the last year of Rajaraja I, and the first year for Vijayaditya II. Vijayaditya II was succeeded by his younger brother Purushottama in A.D. 1277,

The Ganga emperor contemporaneous Vijayaditya II was Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264-1279). Probably Vijayaditya was a subordinate of Bhanudeva I.

### **Purushottama A.D. 1277-1307**

Purushottama had a reign of thirty years. His earliest inscriptions is from Srikurman dated A.D. 1277, mentioning him as Purushottama deva chakravarti, the son of Rajaraja deva.<sup>92</sup> The next inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1287 mentioning Purushottama nayaka.<sup>93</sup> The Srikurman record<sup>94</sup> dated A.D. 1298 mentions Purushottama, his brother Vijayarka and father Rajaraja. An undated record at

Draksharama<sup>95</sup> mentions Purushottama maharaja, who probably is Chalukya Purushottama. Though no records of Purushottama are available after A.D. 1298, his reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1307—the earliest date for his son and successor Visvanatha.

### His Political Relations

The Eastern Ganga contemporary of Purushottama was Narasimha II, the son and successor of Bhanudeva I. His reign lasted from A.D. 1278 to 1306—for a period of twenty-eight years. Purushottama must have continued the Chalukya policy of allegiance to the Ganga though he did not date his records in the regnal years of Narasimha or the Ganga era. It has been said that from a copper plate grant of Narasimha II, we learn that his father Virabhanu I married Jakalladevi of the Chalukyan race and she was probably a relation of Vijayaditya II.<sup>96</sup> But this supposition that Jakalladevi was a princess of the Chalukya family of Srikurmam is not supported by evidence.

### Visvanatha A.D. 1307-1309

Visvanatha had a short reign of three years. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1307 and the third regnal year of Anantavarma Pratapavirabhanudeva, mentioning him as Sarvalokaaraya Srivishnuvardhanamaharaja Visvanatha.<sup>97</sup> Another record of Visvanatha is also from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1307 and the third year of Pratapavirabhanudeva and records gifts by Several chiefs among whom figures Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja Visvanatha.<sup>98</sup> His last record is from Srikurmam dated A.D. 1309 and the 3rd regnal year of Jagannamadeva, mentioning him as Visvanathadeva, the son of Purushottamadeva.<sup>99</sup>

### His Political Relations

Bhanudeva II, the son and successor of Narasimha II was the Ganga emperor in this period. He was the opponent of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak. Two of his titles were Jagannatha and

Purushottama<sup>100</sup> and this precludes the possibility of the existence of two kings Purushottama and Jagannatha who Dr. Banerji, thinks usurped the Ganga throne soon after the accession of Bhanudeva II and kept him a prisoner till A.D. 1312.

The loyalty of Visvanatha to Bhanudeva II is attested by his records dated in the emperor's regnal years. In the first two records, the suzerain is mentioned as Anantavarma Pratapavirabhanudeva and Simply as Pratapavirabhanudeva and in the latest record as Jagannatha deva.

### **Purushottama A.D. 1309-1318**

From a Srikunmam pillar record dated A.D. 1318, Purushottama is heard of. Probably he was the son and successor of Visvanatha and ruled from A.D. 1309 the last date for Visvanatha till A.D. 1318. As no sons and successors of Purushottama are heard of, probably the direct line of the Chalukyas of Srikurmam ended with him .

### **The Later Chalukyas of Srikurmam**

Jalesvara mahapatra, a chalukya of Varanasi katakam and entitled Vishnuvardhanamaharaja Sarvalokasraya chakravarti, and his wife Muktadevi, figure in two records from Srikurmam, bearing the dates A.D. 1379 and A.D. 1380 respectively, Probably Jalesvara was of the lineage of the Chalukyas of Srikurmam. Dharamadasa, the son of Bhimaraja of chalukya lineage and a Kalinga Maji figure in a record dated A.D. 1380.<sup>101</sup> Nalluraju Ravutu raju entitled Sarvalokasraya chakravarti and Vishnuvardhana maharaja, and his dependent Potnuru Chennuraja find mention in an inscription at Simhachalam dated A.D. 1385.<sup>102</sup>

As late as 1525 A.D. in a record at Simhachalam Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja Behara mahapatra,<sup>103</sup> is mentioned as the donor of Uttarapalle to the deity. As his epithets show, Behara mahapatra was undoubtedly a Chalukya, probably of Srikurmam, and a subordinate of the Gajapatis.

## The End

Visvanatha and Purushottama were the last among the chalukyas of Srikurmam. The first quarter of the 14th century A.D. was the period of the decline of the Eastern Gangas and the Kakatiyas. The Muslims from the north were leading frequently expeditions into the south and thus endangering the peace and prosperity of the kingdoms in the south. At such a juncture, the chalukyas of Srikurmam disappear from the political map of south Kalinga.

### Chlaukyas of Vengi Nidadavole

A branch of the Chalukyas exercised sway over a portion of the west Godavari district, with capitals at Nidadavole, Vengi, Tolevu and Todikalapudi for two centuries from the 12th to the 14th century A.D. The names of the capitals, in records, are prefixed to the names of the kings. Like the earlier Chalukyas of Vengi, these chalukyas claimed to belong to Somavamsa, Manavyasagotra and lineage of Harita. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Pithapur and the Kakatiyas and contracted alliances of marriage with the latter and the Kona Haihayas of Konamandala.

### Origin and rise of the dynasty

Records of these Chalukyas and those of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, the Kona Haihayas of Konamandala and references in Sivayogasava by Adiganapatideva from the sources for the history of the kingdom.

The descent of the family is as follows :— Brahma was born from the naval lotus of Vishnu. His son was Atri and to Atri was born Moon. Budha was born to Moon and to him Pururava chakravarti. In the lineage of Pururava was born king Vengisvara.<sup>104</sup>

### Vengisvara A.D. 1100

No records of Vengisvara are available. He may be placed provisionally about A.D. 1100. His son and successor was king Malla.

**Malla. A.D. 1149-1178 and Gonka I. A.D. 1127-1178**

Though Malla's records are available from A.D. 1149, his reign must have begun much earlier—at least from A.D. 1127—the earliest date for his son Gonka I. Malla and Gonka I were the founders of this Chalukya kingdom and ruled together which fact is supported by chronology and location of their inscriptions and contents in them. Ayyapadeva and Mahadeva—sons of Gonka I issued records of their own from A.D. 1141 and 1154 respectively. So from the middle of the reign, these princes were ruling parts of the kingdom with the capital at Tadikalapudi.

**Extent of the Kingdom**

Records of the period attest the extension and extent of the kingdom and help us to fix the chronology of the reign. The earliest inscription<sup>105</sup> is that of Gonka from Draksharama, bearing the date A.D. 1127 and the 40th year of Vishnuvardhana. The next record<sup>106</sup> is that of Malla dated A.D. 1149 also from Draksharama. Gonka's inscriptions<sup>107</sup> from Ganapavaram and Undi are dated A.D. 1174 and his record<sup>108</sup> from Draksharama is dated A.D. 1177 and the 4th year of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja. Malla's last record<sup>109</sup> is from Draksharama, with date uncertain, as it is partly damaged, but falls prior to A.D. 1178.

**The Political Relations of Malla and Gonka**

King Malla is mentioned also as (Ven)gi Malla and Mahamandalesvara Vengi Kallidevaraja in records. He bore a prasasti beginning with Samadhigatapanchamahasabela, some of the epithets being—Bhandanabhima and parabala-lasadhaka. Gonka appears as Vengi Gonkaraja, and Gokaraja in his inscriptions. His prasasti is elaborate<sup>110</sup> in which the titles-dalitaripudarpa, vairibhayadayaka, and parabala sadhaka speak for his valour. He was the lord of Vengi 1000. Vengisahasrakshmadhisa<sup>111</sup> and claims lordship over Bhattipura and Shatsahasravani.<sup>112</sup> The capital was Vengi corresponding to Peddavegi, 6 miles to the north of Ellore (Ellore taluq). In

extending their kingdom, Malla and Gonka came into touch with the rules in neighbouring Kingdom.

In this period of half a century—A.D. 1127 to 1178—the political condition of south India was as follows : Kalinga was ruled over by the Gangas. Anantavarma chodaganga and his successors, the Western Chalukya kingdom by Vikramaditya VI, Somesvara III and his successors and the chola empire by Vikramachola, Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II. In the Telugu country, the Velanandu kingdom as under Choda I, Gonka II and Choda II, Konamandala under Rajaparendu I, Rajendra Choda I, Bhima II and Satya I, Loka and Bhima III, Vallabha and Mallideva I, Palnad under Beta II, Virakama I, Anuguraja and Nalagama, the Chagi kingdom under Dora I and Pota I, the Kondapadumati kingdom under Manda II and his successors the Kota Kingdom under Beta II, Keta I and Bhima II, the Paricheddi kingdom under Nambiraja II and his successors, the Natavadi kingdom under Durga and Buddha, the Malaya kingdom under Surapa and Benta, the Kona kandnavadi kingdom under Bhima I and his successors, the Kolanu kingdom under Okkettuganda. Katama and Somaya, the Elamanchilli chalukya kingdom under Vijayaditya I and the chalukya kingdom of Srikurmam under Vijayaditya I. The Telugu Pallana rulers were Bhima, Naga, Narayana and Dorapa nayaka at Guntur, Nandivarma and Vijayaditya at Nellore, and Surapa, Bayya and Purushottama at Virakuta. The Matsya kingdom was under Mankaditya I, the Yadava kingdom under Sarngadhara I and the Telugu choda kingdoms under Kannarachoda and his successors at Kongidena, Trailokyamalla, Mallideva I and his successors at Pottapi, Siddhi at Nellore and Udayaditya at Kandur.

### **Malla and Gonka and the Chalukyas of Pithapur**

Vishnuvardhna Mallapadeva II and Vijayaditya III were one after another rulers of the Chalukya kingdom of Pithapur. The allegiance of Malla and Gonka to the Pithapur chalukyas is attested by their records dated in the regnal years of there overlords. For one of Gonka's records is dated A.D. 1127 and the 40th year of Vishnuvardhana.<sup>113</sup> Obviously 40th year is a

mistake for the 4th year which corresponds to A.D. 1127. Again Gonka's last record is dated A.D. 1177 and the 4th year of Vishnuvardhana.<sup>114</sup> Here Vishnuvardhana refers to Vijayaditya III whose 4th year corresponds to A.D. 1162 and the regnal year for A.D. 1177 ought to be the 19th year.

### **Malla and Gonka and their Achievements**

Malla and Gonka, it seems probable came into conflict with the Velanandu chodas and won some victories over them. For Gonka claims lordship over Shatsaharva, the home province of the Velanandus and over Bhattipura, evidently Bhattiprolu in Repalle Taluq of Guntur district.<sup>115</sup> Probably Gonka invaded the Velanandu kingdom, some time about A.D. 1174 the date of the record mentioning his titles, during the latter part of the reign of Choda II advanced up to Bhattipura, vanquished the enemy and took it. But evidently the expedition did not result in adding territories to the chalukyas kingdom, for records show that Velanandu kingdom was intact in Choda's reign.

The title Yuddhamallavamsasamuddharana i.e. rescuer of the lineage of Yuddhamalla<sup>116</sup>—borne by Gonka I, probably suggests the direct connection of these Chalukyas with the earlier Chalukyas of Vengi and that Gonka brought them into prominence. Obviously these Chalukyas claimed descent from Yuddhamalla.

### **Ayyapadeva A.D. 1178-1193**

Eldest son of Gonka I, Ayyapadeva succeeded his father and grandfather on the Chalukya throne at Vengi in A.D. 1178 and ruled for fifteen years. He had experience in the art of government for over thirty-five years, when he found himself as the ruler of the kingdom. His earliest record is dated A.D. 1141, at Tadikolapudi.<sup>117</sup> His next inscription is from Bezvada, with date A.D. 1150, wherein Ayyapa is mentioned as Pedavengi Bayapadeva maharaja. Bayapa is evidently a mistake for Ayyapa. Ayyapa's only record after he became ruler is from Telikicherla dated A.D. 1193. Ayyapa had two sons—

Ganapati by queen Muppalamahadevi and Manmagonka probably named after his father Gonka I.

### His Political Relations

King Ayyappa appears as Vengi Ayyapadeva and pedavengi Ayyapadeva in his records. Probably he associated his two sons and brother in the governance of the kingdom. Vengi was the capital and Tadikalapudi which is 13 miles to the north-east of Ellore was a provincial capital.

Some of the rulers contemporaneous with Ayyapa in other kingdoms were Gonka III and Prithvisvara of the Velanandus, Mallideva I and Manmasatya II of the Konamandala Haihayas, Somayanaka of Kolanu, and Vijayaditya III Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1158 to 1202) of the Chalukyas of Pithapur. Probably like his father Ayyapa recognised Vijayaditya III's suzerainty and did not come into conflict with other rulers.

### Mahadeva A.D. 1194-1230

Mahadeva, brother and successor of Ayyapa had a reign of thirty six years. His earliest inscription<sup>118</sup> is from Tadikalapudi, bearing the date A.D. 1154. The next inscription<sup>119</sup> is also from Tadikalapudi, with date A.D. 1204. The Ayyanesvara temple mentioned in it is probably named after Ayyapadeva I. Mahadeva's next record<sup>120</sup> dated A.D. 1208 also comes from Tadikalapudi. His last record<sup>121</sup> is from Bezvada dated A.D. 1230 registering his gifts for the merit of his father. An undated inscription<sup>122</sup> of Mahadeva is at Bezvada.

### His Political Relations

Mahadeva is mentioned as Vengi Mahadevaraja in his records. He seems to have shifted the capital of the kingdom from Vengi to Tadikalapudi which is mentioned as the capital of Vengi in one<sup>123</sup> of his records. Probably this measure was necessitated by the extension of the kingdom towards Shatsahasra. Mahadeva bore an elaborate prasasti,<sup>124</sup> His titles—dalitaripudarpa, and parabalasadhaka show that he was a

warrior. Mahadeva's capacities in riding horses and elephants is implied in his epithet—Vajivaranahaya vatsa i.e. a Vatsaraja in riding horses. The title is peculiar as Vaji and haysa are synoymys and varana also means resistance regarding. It may mean a vatsa in warding of blows or defending his horses and in riding. His titles—Siddipuravaradhisvara, Mallavamsasmuddharana, Shatsahasravanivallabha and Somavamsarnavachandra<sup>125</sup> were of some political significance.

The rulers contemporaneous with Mahadeva in the kingdoms in the Telugu country were Prithvisvara, and his successors of the Velanandus Mallideva I and Manmasatya II of the Kona Haihayas, Pota II of the Chagis, Keta II of the Kotas, Kusumaraja of the Parichchedis, Rudra I of the Natavadis, Mahadeva of the Malayas, Kesavadeva of Kolanu, Vijayaditya III (A.D. 1158-1202) Mallapa III (A.D. 1203-1223), Udayachandra (A.D. 1223-1226) and Chandrasekhara (A.D. 1223-1246), Mallapa I and Rajaraja I of the Chalukyas, Udayaraja. Allutikke and Abhideva Malideva of the Pallavas, Jayanta of the Matsyas, Purushottama and Bayyaraja of Virakuta Pallavas, Madhava of the Yadavas, Balli choda copilisiddhi II Nallasiddhe and his successors including Tikka I of the Telugu cholas.

Under Mahadeva, the loyalty of the Chalukyas to the Chalukyas of Pithapur must have continued. The titles of Mahadeva implying his restoration of Mallavamsa, obviously a mistake for Yuddhamallavamsa and lordship over Shatsahasravanani are probably hereditary borne by his father Gonka I. Or he had some victory over the Velanandus towards the close of the reign of Prithvisvara or afterwards. It is also possible that gauging the weak political condition of the Velanandu kingdom Mahadeva simply assumed the title implying lordship over Shatsahasra. The only event of any importance of Mahadeva is his lordship over Siddipura, evidently implying his conquest of it. His titles implying lordship over Shatsahasra and the location of his records at Bezvada suggests that Mahadeva led an invasion into the Telugu Pallava kingdom of Guntur and Telugu chola kingdom of Kondidena which task must have been rendered easy by the

decay of the Velanandu choda kingdom. Even the Konidena chola kingdom was in its last stages and Mahadeva's invasion must have occurred about A.D. 1230. The date of his Bezvada inscription.<sup>126</sup> Siddhipura, was evidently the place where Mahadeva vanquished some of his enemies. Its identification with Suddapalle in Guntur Taluq<sup>127</sup> six miles from Tenali is far fetched and it may be more appropriately identified with Siddhapuram<sup>128</sup> in Tadepallegudam Taluq (West Godavari District).

### **Gonka II or Manmagonka A.D. 1230-1237**

In A.D. 1230, Gonka II succeeded his uncle Mahadeva on the Vengi throne. His earliest inscription dated A.D. 1213 is from Chebrole.<sup>129</sup> Gonka's next inscription is from Talikicherla, with date A.D. 1230 and mentions minister Narayana<sup>130</sup>. in A.D. 1235, Narayana made further gifts at Telikicherla<sup>131</sup> Gonka's reign may have lasted till A.D. 1237—the earliest date for his successor Ayyapadeva II.

### **His Political Relations**

Gonka is mentioned as Vengi Gonka and Manmagonka in his records. The epigraphist<sup>132</sup> is correct in not identifying him with Gonka of the Velanandus, for he did not bear the Velanandu prasasti. Besides, chronology also does not support such identification, Probably Gonka was crown prince in Mahadeva's reign from A.D. 1213—the date of his earliest record at Chebrole.<sup>133</sup> The date and location of his record show that those Chalukyas under Mahadeva started on extending their kingdom immediately after the death of Velanandu Prithvisvara in the Telugu chola hands. Probably prince Gonka at the head of the Chalukya armies joined the Kakatiya expedition into the Velanandu country about that time and won some victories.

The rulers contemporaneous with Gonka in other kingdoms were Bhima IV of the Kona Haihayas, Ganapati and Dora III of the Chagis, Bhima III and Keta III and Ganapati of the Kotas, Rudra I of the Natavadis, Mahadeva of the Malayas,

Chandrasekhara of the Pithapur Chalukyas, Madhava of the Yadavas and Tikka I of the Nellore cholas, Gonka II during his short reign does not seem to have come into conflict with any of these kings. Besides, he need not have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, who were declining in this period.

### **Ayyapadeva II A.D. 1237**

Ayyapadeva succeeded Gonka II, his uncle, on the Vengi throne. His earliest inscription<sup>134</sup> is from Yenamalakuduru dated A.D. 1237. Probably Bayyapanayaka figuring in an undated inscription at Bapatla<sup>135</sup> and Bayyanadevamaharaja of the Trovagunta record,<sup>136</sup> also undated are identical with Ayyapadeva. China Bayyanadeva maharaja was perhaps his son. The upper limit of Ayyapa's reign is not known.

Little is known about the events of the reign. Ayyapa does not seem to have come into conflict with the rulers in other kingdoms. Probably he associated China Bayyana and Ganapati, brother of Gonka II in governing the kingdom.

### **China Bayyanadeva Maharaja 1250 A.D.**

None of China Bayyana's records are available. The suffix maharaja to his name,<sup>137</sup> probably suggests that he ruled the Vengi kingdom for a shortwhile, after Ayyapa II. China Bayyana's reign may be taken to have lasted till about A.D. 1260 or 1265 the earliest date for his successor Mahadeva II alias Vishnuvardhana.

We have no information about the events of China Bayyana's reign. No sons or successors of his are heard of. By this time in the Telugu country, the Velanandus had declined, the Nellore chodas were prominent and the control of the Imperial Cholas over the country was negligible and the influence of the Pandyas and the Kakatiyas was spreading.

### **Mahadeva I alias Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1266-1300**

Mahadeva and his successors ruled the Vengi Chalukya kingdom for over half a century from about A.D. 1265 with

capital at Niravadyapura Nidadavole in Nidadavole taluq (west Godavari district). Mahadeva's relationship to his predecessors who ruled the kingdom from Vengi is not known. These Chalukyas claimed lordship over kollipaka and were closely allied to the Kakatiyas by marriages. Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas was a Chalukya prince.

Mahadeva had a reign extending over thirty four years. His earliest inscription is from Palakol, dated A.D. 1266. It mentions the king as Vishnuvardhana, his son Indusekhara, grandsho Virabhadra and daughter-in-law.<sup>138</sup> The Kolanupaka inscription<sup>139</sup> mentions the king as Mahadeva and queen Lakkambika, grandson Virabhadra and his queen Rudrama of the Kakatiyas. Mahadeva's next record<sup>140</sup> is from Mallipudi dated A.D. 1297 mentioning him as Prithvivallabha Mahadeva. In the next record<sup>141</sup> dated A.D. 1298 from palakol Nidudaproli is prefixed to Mahadeva's name. The next inscription is from Pasavemula, dated A.D. 1299 recording gifts by Vishnuvardhana chakravarti and Rudradeva for the merit of their parents Sarvalokasraya. Vallabhachakravarti and Bachaladevi.<sup>142</sup> Two records from Palakol with dated A.D. 1296 and 1300 respectively mention king Mahadeva II grandson of Mahadeva I and record gifts by his daughter Odayamahadevi.

### His Political Relations

Mahadeva bore the chalukya titles—Sarvalokasraya, Vishnuvardhana, Maharaja and chakravarti. In records he is mentioned as Sarvalokasraya Prithvivallabha Mahadeva, Sarvalokasraya (Prithvi) vallabha chakravarti and Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Mahadeva chakravarti. As he made Nidadavole his capital instead of Vengi, Nidadavole is prefixed to his name in records. Probably he associated Indusekhara and Virabhadra in governing the kingdom.

The rulers contemporaneous with Mahadeva were Rudrama of the Kakatiyas, Bhimavallabha and Ganapatideva of the Kona mandala Haihayas, choda I of the Haihayas of Panchadharala, Mallapa II and Upendra II of the Elamanchilli chalukyas, Purushottama of the Srikurmama chalukyas, Vijayagnandagopala and Viragandagopala of the Nellore

Pallavas, Arjuna and Jayanta II of the Matsyas, Bayyaraju of the Pallavas of Virakuta, Madhava II and Vajjagadeva of the Yadavas of Addanki, Sarangapani of the Yadavas of Panugal, Allutikka, Tikka II and Manmagandagopala of the Nellore cholas.

Mahadeva contracted alliances of marriage with the Kona Haihayas. For his daughter-in-law Odayamahadevi, wife of Virabhadra, was probably a princess of Kona Haihaya family. His grand-daughter Anyamamba, daughter of Indusakhane by Odayamahadevi was married to Bhimavallabha of the Kona Haihayas. Mahadeva married his grandson Virabhadra to Rudramadevi, the Kakatiya empress. Towards the close of his reign, Mahadeva acknowledged the suzerainty shows that his two sons made the grant "after petitioning Machaya probably identical with the Cavalry officer of that name in the service of Prataparudra." Mahadeva has been confused with his grandson bearing the same name, by some writers.

#### Indusekhara A.D. 1300-1306

Indusekhara alias Vishnuvardhana succeeded Chalukyadhipati Mahadeva on the throne at Nidadavole. His earliest record is from Palakol dated A.D. 1300 recording gifts for the merit of his parents Vishnuvardhana chakravarti and Bhimadevi. Tolabi is prefixed to the name of the king. The next record is from Palakol dated A.D. 1306 registering gifts by Udayamahadevi, grand-daughter of Indusekhara for the merit of her parents—Vishnuvardhana maharaja Nidudapoli Mahadeva chakravarti and mother.

#### His Political Relations

It is likely that Indusekhara continued the allegiance to the chalukyas to the Kakatiyas. Probably he made Toleru in Bhimavaram taluq (W. Godavari district) his capital. Indusekhara does not seem to have come into conflict with any of the rulers contemporary with him. His subordinate Potinayaka is described as a destroyer of enemies, though the enemies are not specified.

### Virabhadra

Virabhadra never seems to have ruled the Vengi Chalukya kingdom. Like Rajendra Kulottunga, the chalukya chola emperor, he became attached after his marriage with Rudrama, more to the Kakatiya throne than that of the Vengi Chalukyas. Virabhadra is best known as the husband of Rudrama, than as the king of Nidadavole. To state that "he apparently belonged to the line Kona"<sup>143</sup> is wrong. He obviously must have stayed at Warangal.

The earliest mention of Virabhadra is in a record at Juttiga dated A.D. 1259 registering a grant by his minister Vishnuvu.<sup>144</sup> In A.D. 1266, Virabhadra made gifts for the merit of his mother Udayambika. Virabhadra by Rudramadevi had no issue. They adopted two daughters—Mummadamma and Ruyyamba and married them to Mahadeva II of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole the younger brother of Virabhadra and Induluri Annayadeva<sup>145</sup> of the second Kolanu dynasty respectively. Mummadamba alias Mummadayya was originally intended to be married to Rudrama, by Recharla Prasaditya and Rudrama with the consent of minister Visvesvara Sivadesika, married her to her brother-in-law Mahadeva II.<sup>146</sup> Virabhadra shared the burden of the kingdom with the queen for his Juttiga inscription says<sup>147</sup> that Virabhadresvara of Chalukyavamsa married Rudramadevi, daughter of king Ganapati of the Kakatiyas and thus became the ruler of the earth.

### Mahadeva II

Unlike his brother, Mahadeva seems to have ruled the chalukya kingdom from Nidadavole. Perhaps while Virabhadra was at Warangal, he succeeded Indusekhara on the throne. None of his records are available, though some important events of the reign are known from the inscriptions of his children. The lower limit of his reign may have been A.D. 1306—the last date for Indusekhara, whereas the upper limit may have been either so long as he lived or so long the Kakatiyas kingdom lasted whichever happened sooner.

**His Political Relations**

Mahadeva II contracted alliances of marriage with the Kona Haihayas of Konamandala. For he married his daughter Odayamanadevi or Pina Odayamahadevi to Kona Ganapatideva<sup>148</sup> (A.D. 1254-1300) Prataparudradeva, son of<sup>149</sup> Mahadeva II by Mummadamba succeeded Rudramadevi on the Kakatiya throne in A.D. 1296. Evidently on the death of Mahadeva II, Prataparudra inherited the chalukya kingdom of Vengi which got merged into the Kakatiya kingdom. So Mahadeva chakravarti was the last of this line of the Chalukyas who ruled from Nidadavole.

Besides Annaya of the Induluri family, who was the co-brother-in-law of Mahadeva II. Ballepreggada and his son Nagamantri of the family of the guru Nukunaradhya<sup>150</sup> were in the service of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole as ministers.

**Prataparudra A.D. 1296-1323**

Like Kulottunga I who united the chola and Chalukya kingdoms, Prataparudra united the Chalukya and Kakatiya kingdoms. But unlike Kulottunga, Prataparudra was the last ruler of the two dynasties, but not originator of a fresh invigorated line of rulers. For no sons and successors of Prataparudra are heard of. Throughout his reign the Muslim invasions proved a constant menace to the security of the kingdom and evidence is clear that Induluri Rudra and Anna,<sup>151</sup> the Gonas and the Sagis<sup>152</sup> in the service of Prataparudra, and many great generals of his, protected the capital and kingdom and vanquished the enemy several times during the early years. But every defeat in the hands of the Hindus, increased the Zeal of the Muslims who came in larger numbers with great resources. Finally in A.D. 1323, the kingdom of Prataparudra fell before wrath of the Muslim Armies and thus ended the Chalukya—Kakatiya kingdom, like the kingdoms of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas, about the same time.

## The End

The first quarter of the 14th century A.D. in South India was one of the decline of many an important dynasty eg. the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas. Along with several other kingdoms in Vengi, the Chalukya kingdom came under the Kakatiyas. But almost by the end of the first decade of the second quarter of the century a new set of kingdoms—Hindu and Muslim—e.g. the Vijayanagar, the Reddis and the Bahmany Saltanate are seen emerging into prominence.

## Others Chalukyas

A family of the Chalukyas ruled in a portion of the kistna district in the 12th century A.D. Their records are at Peddakallepalle and Ayyanki. In the lunar race was born *Balla I*.<sup>153</sup> His son was Chalukya Bhima described as an equal of Dilipa. Probably Balla and Bhima are identical with Vishnuvardhana chakravarti Ballahadeva and his son Bhimadeva respectively of the Pativela inscription.<sup>154</sup>

### Balla II A.D. 1154

Son of Bhima by Abbaladevi, Balla II is known from his records. His two earliest inscriptions,<sup>155</sup> dated A.D. 1154 are not Peddakallepalle and record gifts by his queen Somaladevi. His next record is from Ayyanki bearing the date A.D. 1155. An undated inscription at Bapatla<sup>156</sup> mentions Mahamandalesvara Ballaya, probably same as Balla II.

Though Balla does not mention any suzerain of his in the records, nevertheless, as the tracts formed part of the Velanandu kingdom, he must have recognised the supremacy of Gonka II (A.D. 1137-1162) of the Velanandu chodas.

Towards the close of the 14th century in A.D. 1390 from a record<sup>157</sup> at Gudur (Bandar taluq), Balayaraja, son of Chalukya Bhima is heard of making gifts to Jaladhisvara at Ghantasala. Probably, these were descendants of Balla II Another Ballaraja, son of Madayya and Annamba is known from a record dated A.D. 1402 at Srikakulam.<sup>158</sup> As the Reddi kingdom included all these tracts, the chiefs no doubt recognised the suzerainty of Kumaragiri of the Kondavidu Reddis.

In the 13th Century A.D. Some Chalukyas ruled in Ongole taluq of Guntur district and Podili division of the Nellore district. The earliest member of this group was Bhimaraja Peddana (Siddhana) deva maharaja. He was an Eastern Chalukya of the lineage of Vimaladitya. As the name shows Siddhana's division dated A.D. 1257.<sup>159</sup> His next record also from Dondalur bears the date A.D. 1260.<sup>160</sup> His record at Tripurantakam records his grant of a village on R. Musi to god Tripurantakesvara in A.D. 1257.<sup>161</sup> Probably Siddhana's rule lasted up to A.D. 1289-the first date for his successor Vijayaditya.

### Siddhana's Political Relations

In one of his records Siddhana is mentioned as Mahamandalesvara Vishnuvardhana Bhimaraja Siddhayadeva Maharaja. Some of the titles of Siddhana are Chalukyanarayana Nitiparayana, Lord of the city of Vengi and Vimaladitya vamsavatara. Some of the rulers in other kingdom in this period were Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kakatiyas, Vijayagandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas, and Manmasiddha III and his successors of the Telugu Cholas. Probably Siddhana owed allegiance to the Telugu Pallavas Mahamandalesvara Mahadideva was a feudatory Siddhana.

### Vijayaditya A.D. 1289

The relationship of Vijayaditya to Siddhanadeva is not known. Two of his records<sup>162</sup> are at Ongole and another at Podile. A mahamandalesvara Vijayaditya owed allegiance to Manmagandagopala (A.D. 1281-1299) of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, which is evident from his Podile inscription dated A.D. 1289 recording gifts for the merit of the overlord.

A family of the Chalukyas in the 12th and 13th centuries is known from records at Draksharama and Ramatirtham—Rajamartanda and Somaladevi his grand daughter figure in a record dated A.D. 1065 at Draksharama. Probably Rajamartanda is identical with his name sake, the father of Mummadi Bhima, mentioned in a record at Ramatirtham<sup>166</sup> dated A.D. 1135. Probably Somala was the daughter's

daughter of Rajamartanda. Mummadi Bhima bore the epithet—Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja.

A vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya figures in a record at Vipparla, bearing the date A.D. 1073. A record at Juttiga mentions a Vishnuvardhana maharaja. Another record there dated A.D. 1152 mentions Malliraja, son of Vijayaditya. A chalukya chakravarti figures in a record of A.D. 1168 at Hemavati in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Mallideva choda—a feudatory of Kulottunga II. Chokkaraja of Chalukya descendant and the lineage of Rajarajanarendra is said to have ruled over a portion of the Telugu land in the 12th Century A.D. Poet Vemulavada Bhima speaks of him in a verse.

Padikamu Boppadeva, a general in the service of Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kakatiyas claims chalukya descent. His record is at Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1261 and the second year of Kakatiya Rudradeva Maharaja. Some of his titles show that he fought battles on the banks of the Godavari and took the head of Gonturi Nagadeva, a Telugu Pallava ruler of Guntur. He also fought some battles in Kalinga and soon, for one of his titles is—kalinga mandalikadhatismartharaya—kuvaru tondapodiraya kuvarupadigharamalla and the record mentioning the title indicates the prevalence of troubles in Kalingadesa. On Ganapati's death and accession of Rudrama., there appear signs of local rebellions in the Telugu country and expeditions from subsidiary rulers in Kalinga. For the Matsyas, the Gangas of Tanturanadu and the Chalukyas come as far as Draksharama and left their records there. Many records of the feudatories of the Kakatiyas who won victories over them about that time are also at Draksharama. For Potinayaka and his sons Surapa, Potaya and Moraya, as seems from their titles, fought the Gajapatis and won victories over them. Nallapanayana Prolinayadu bore the titles—Panyamdhala rayadhumaketu, Kalavaraya disapatta, Sevanarayabavanipanchanu and Oddiyarayamana mardana in his Pulidandi inscription dated A.D. 1288.<sup>163</sup> Later Annayadeva and Rudradeva subdued the tracts up to Simhachalam and ruled them. The victims of Boppadeva on the battle of the Godavari are not known. Boppa's victory over Nagadeva,

obviously, must have occurred during one of the expedition of the Kakatiyas into the south presumably in A.D. 1280 as record mentioning it is dated A.D. 1161. His successes in Kalinga also probably took place in A.D. 1260-61.

A record at Drnksharma<sup>164</sup> dated A.D. 1296 mentions Vengi Gonka entitled Manyasimha. His father was Mallapara-  
raja and queen was Valayama. In the reign of Vishnuvar-  
dhana maharaja of Rajahmundry in the year Kali 4628 a grant  
was made at Peddo cherukuru.<sup>165</sup> In A.D. 1316 Kumudavar-  
dhana of chalukya lineage and of Mandavyagotra granted  
four villages to the God at Peddacherukuru.<sup>166</sup> From a c.p.  
charter at Atmakur dated A.D. 1353 (Kurnool district), a  
Chalukya chakravarti, of the lunar is known.<sup>167</sup> An undated  
record at Burugugadda (Nalgonda district) mentions Amma-  
jiyya Gnnapaddeva entitled Sarvalokasraya and Vishnuvar-  
dhana chakravarti.<sup>168</sup> Two records at Bhimavaram<sup>169</sup> mention  
Vijayaditya, king of Vengi and his son Mallaparaju. Sewell  
mentions<sup>170</sup> many records dated in the regnal years of Vijaya-  
raja at different places. The identity of Vijayaraja is not  
known.

In the 14th century about A.D. 1360 some chalukyas—  
Kshatriyas—Rachavarh of lunar race were ruling Jallipalle and  
the neighbouring tracts. Singamanayadu i.e. Singama I of the  
Velamas of Rachakonda in extending his kingdom came into  
conflict with these Chalukyas. In A.D. 1360 he invaded the  
fort of Jallipalli was defeated and murdered by the enemy<sup>171</sup>  
So the next year, Anapota I and Mada I to wreak vengeance  
for their father's death in Chalukya hands, laid siege to Jalla-  
palla. On being attacked by the enemy with a large army  
they left the fort with vast armies - 6000 cavalry, 700 elephan-  
try and 20,000 infantry met the enemy at the fort of Inugurti  
where a sanguinary battle was fought. The chalukyas lost the  
battle and most of them were killed and the forts of Inugurti  
and Jallipalli were taken by the Velamas. Anapota I and  
Mada I captured in the fort and the battle 101 chalukya  
princes, killed them, thus wrought vengeance for their father's  
death and Anapota assumed the title Somakulaparasurama<sup>172</sup>  
i.e. destroyer of the lunar race i.e. chalukyas. The names of

some of the chalukyas killed, were Machchayanbalaraju, Kondamalraju Kommaladevupinnaraju, choda parvataraju, Nandivadanarasaraju, Tirmalaraju kondaraju, Kattavengal raju, Juturi Suryudu, Appachi chenraju, Salvaraghavaraju, Sambeta kandraju, Madiraju Hariraju, Pasanu chenraju and so forth.<sup>173</sup> Towards the close of the 14th century A.D. it is said that a confederacy five rulers sattiga, chalikaya, Kankala and Udayana was van quished at *Vemulakonda* (in chodavaram division of East Godavari district) by Vedagiri I of the Velamas. Some say that<sup>174</sup> Chalikyadeva was defeated at Mamidasa On the basis of this victory he took the title chalikyabhupalavidalana.<sup>175</sup>

In the 16th century A.D. the Avavidu dynasty, the feudatories of the kings of Vijayanagar claimed chalukya descent. These rulers were of Atreya gotra and traced their ancestry to Rajarajanarendra<sup>176</sup> of the Eastern chalukyas of Vengi.

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## CHAPTER TWELVE

# The Pallavas

After the decline of the Imperial Pallavas of Kanchi towards the close of the 9th century A.D.<sup>1</sup>, many a dynasty of Pallava descent ruled in South India, in different localities, at varying times, from the middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 15th century A.D. The Pallavas in the Telugu land were the Pallavas of Guntur, Nellore, Tripurantakam, Proddutur, Pentrala, Kanchi and Virakuta and the Pallavas in the Tamil country were the Kadavarayas and the Sambuvarayas. Mostly the Telugu Pallavas were feudatory dynasties but assumed hereditary title of lordship over Kanchi. In no case is any lineal connection between the ancient Pallavas and their Telugu descendants traceable and the inter-relationship between the different families is also not apparent. The Telugu Pallavas acquired important political victories and owed allegiance to the Eastern Chalukyas, the Cholas the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Kakatiyas, the Pandyas and the kings of Vijayanagar.

### The Pallavamallas

The Pallavamallas, in the 10th century A.D., were the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Vengi. Pallavammalla was a title borne by Nandivarma Maharaja, the last among the Imperial Pallavas. Hence these Pallavas claiming descent from

Nandivarmapallavamalla,<sup>2</sup> may be called Pallavamallas. The earliest member of the family was Kalivarma.<sup>3</sup> His son Makariyaraja was in the service of Badapa, brother of Tala II and lost his life in the civil war in Vengi, after the accession of Vijayaditya. fighting on the side of his master<sup>4</sup> Kuppayya alias Kuppanamatya was also<sup>1</sup> in the service of Ammaraja Vijayaditya (945 A.D.—970) and received presents from him.<sup>5</sup> Later on he proved a traitor to the king, fought on the side of the sons of Yuddhamalla against the king, and got from them the agraharas—Tanderu and Betipudi.<sup>6</sup> He became minister of Tala II—Vishnuvardhana and received from him Sripundi in Velanandu Vishaya. In the Arumbaka inscription of Badapamaharaju, Kuppanamatya is mentioned as the holder of mahasamantamatyapada. Kuppanayya definitely says that he was of the lineage of Pallavamalla; and he was last of the line as no descendants of him are heard of. A pallavamalla is mentioned in a Telugu epigraph at Kotappakonda (Guntur district) in characters of about the 10th century A.D. His relationship to other pallavamallas is unknown.

### The Pallava of Guntur A.D. 1100-1300

A pallava dynasty ruled the shatsahasra with capital at Gonturu-modern Guntur - for two centuries from A.D. 1100 to 1300. Inscriptions attest that at one time. this Pallava kingdom embraced the major part of Andhradesa from Kallepalle (in Kastna district) to Draksharama in (East Godavari district). The Pallavas acknowledged Velanandu suzerainty in the beginning and Kakatiya authority towards the close.

### Origin of the dynasty

Inscriptions of the dynasty and references in records of the Kakatiyas from the sources for the political history of the Pallavas. They claim descent from Mukkanti Kaduvetti whose chronology is indefinite. Mukkanti kaduvetti i.e. Trinana-yana Pallava or Trilochana Pallra, is stated to have granted 700 Agraharas to Brahmins in the tract of country to the east of Sripurvata i.e. Srisailam. Perhaps, as has been suggested

already, this tract was called Tyagasamudrapattai, after one of the surnames of Mukkanti Kuduvetti. One author says "Probably Tyagasamudrapattai was the original home of the Telugu pallava chiefs and of all Telugu Pallavas in general and that some of them migrated from it and settled elsewhere in the course of generations"<sup>7</sup> As this tract formed a devision of Pakanadu along with Rajarajaputtai and Kulottungapattni-partly in Nellore district<sup>8</sup> Pakanandu may be considered to be the original home of the Telugu Pallavas.

### Keta A.D. 1060-1115

Keta or Betaraja was the earliest member of the dynasty of the Pallavas of Guntur. He secured the raddikam of Bezvada from Rajamahendra, the son of Rajendrachodaraja.<sup>13</sup> This Rajamahendra (A.D. 1060-1063) was the son of Rajendra II (A.D. 1052-1064), the younge brother of Rajadhiraja I (A.K. 1018-1064) and died as crown prince.<sup>10</sup> Thus Kotaraja lived about A.D. 1060 and Bezvada constituted the nucleus of his kingdom.

### His Political Relations

In this period, the hegemony of South India was divided between three powerful and ambitions monarchs who were given with unusually long reigns, to realise their ardent desires. They were Ananta varman of the Gangas, Vikramaditya of the Chalukyas and Kulottunga of the Cholas. In the Telugu country, many kingdoms were set up under the aegis of the Chalukya cholas, some of the rulers being Muppa I of the chagis of Gudimetta, Buddha I of the Kondapadumatis Ganda I of the Kotas of Amaravati, Vengisvara of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole, Dorapa of the Telugu pallavas of Nellore and Nannichoda I of the Telugu cholas of Konidena.

Keta had an younger brother Bangena also known as Tammubangi. Tammubangi is described in elaborate terms in the Yenamalakudunu inscription.<sup>11</sup> The brothers Keta and Bengi - though do not seem to have come into conflict with any of the rulers mentioned above, claim to have disturbed the peace of the king of Jagallunthaka,<sup>12</sup> whose identity is

not known. Probably Keta's reign lasted till A.D. 1115 the earliest date for his successors.

### **Beddana and Bhima A.D. 1115-1127**

Beddana and Bhima, the sons of Tammubangi by Badambika, succeeded their uncle on the Telugu pallava throne at Guntur. Their accession shows that Keta had no sons or they predeceased him. Beddana and Bhima ruled jointly for a period of twelve years after which Bhima began his independent rule. They began their reign by acknowledging Chola suzerainty and towards its close, accepted Chalukya yoke.

#### **Extent of the kingdom**

The records of the period by their location and contents show the extent of the kingdom. The earliest record<sup>13</sup> is dated A.D. 1115 and 5th year of Sarvalokasraya Sri Vishnuvardhana-chakravarti Parantakadeva. Parantaka is emperor Kulottunga and the 5th year is probably a mistake for the 45th year which corresponds to A.D. 1115. The record says that while Rajasarvajna was ruling the kingdom at Jananathapura in happiness, his subordinate mahamandalika Beddana ruled the villages near Bezvada and the kingdom, while his younger brother Bangena Bhima ruled the entire Telugubhumi while all kings served him at his command. Rajasarvajna refers to Vikramachola, the viceroy of Vengi at the time with his capital at Jananathapura Bezvada. The next record of the reign is dated A.D. 1127 and the 16th year of Perumandideva<sup>14</sup> entitled Samastabhuvanasrayavamsa, chalukyabharana and Sritribhuvanachakravarti. It refers to the conferment of Naddikam on Bhima. Obviously Perumandideva is Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. Probably the joint rule of Beddana and Bhima ended in A.D. 1127 as none of Beddana's records are found after that year.

#### **Their Political Relations**

Beddana and Bhima, also known as Tammubhima and Bangena Bhima bore long prasastis. Beddana was the first ruler of Guntur Pallavas. to bear a prasasti. It begins with

Sakalaparamavamsodhbbhava and has the epithets<sup>15</sup> bharadvaja-gotra, Khatvangadhvaja, rishabhalanchana, Kanchipuravare, Pallavakulatilakapadambajasevita, annuvakamakula..., Nodivadisahssarjuna, samgramarama, chalukyanankakara..., paramandalachurakara, pati...jammndaina, some of which show that he was a warrior of merit. Some of the titles in the prasasti of mahamandalika Bhima were Vengi desaichalukyanankpkara, paramandalachurakara and Kurumarajamundaina.<sup>16</sup> In extending their kingdom, Beddana and Bhima came into conflict with some petty chieftains, and hill tribes and won victories over them.

### Beddana and Bhima and the Cholas

The Chola emperors in this period were Kulottunga I and Vikramachola. Beddana and Bhima acknowledged the suzerainty of the cholas which is clear from their record dated A.D. 1115 and the 45th year of Kulottunga.<sup>17</sup> But there are no signs of their allegiance to Vikramachola for perhaps on the death of Kulottunga, they had to acknowledge Chalukya supremacy. Their title Vengichalukyanamkakara<sup>18</sup> supports their subordination to the Cholas and the Chalukya—Cholas. A later record of Bhima from Yenamalakaduru dated A.D. 1132 mentions that Boddanayaka got Bezvada from Sritripurantaka, the lord of Vengi and of Chodavamsa,<sup>19</sup> Here Sritripurantaka is a mistake for Sriparantaka ie Kulottunga I. Thus the kingdom originally conferred on Keta by Rajamahandra, was confirmed by emperor Kulottunga on Beddana on the succession of the latter to his father's kingdom. Probably while confirming Beddanna's right to the throne the and subordination to the Cholas—Kulottunga conferred on him fresh tracts of land, for Beddana's Bezvada record says<sup>20</sup> that he ruled the villages neare Bezvada and the kingdom while his brother ruled the whole of Telugu land. The Chola supremacy in the Telugu land was effective in this period, which is clear from the fact that Boddana's records mention that Parantaka ie Kulottunga I was the lord of Vengi and Rajasarvajna ie Vikramachola was ruling the kingdom from Janathapura and Beddana was a feudatory of Rajasarvojna. Undoubtedly under the immediate

paternal care of the Cholas Beddana and Bhima must have found it easier to extend their kingdom and protect it from their enemies. For they must have counted on Chola support in their wars, though it is an exaggeration<sup>21</sup> that they ruled the whole of the Telugu country and all kings obeyed their behests.

### **Beddana and Bhima and the Chalukyas of Kalyani**

In this period, the kingdom of the Chalukyas was under Vikramaditya, its greatest ruler. Fight for supremacy over Vengi between the Chalukyas and the Cholas began early in the 11th century A.D. and since then Vengi was the scene of many a battle between the two powers, victory often changing hands. By about A.D. 1040—the epithet lord of Vengi forms a part of the prasasti attached to the Yuvarujapada of the Chalukyas in the reign of Somesvara I.<sup>22</sup> Death of Kulottunga departure of Vikramachola from Vengi gave Vikramaditya ie Perumandideva of the Telugu pallava records, the long felt opportunity to accelerate the spread of his power in Vengi. By about A.D. 1120, the Chalukya power was widespread and effective in Vengi attested by several records of local dynasties, all over the land dated in C.V. era or the regnal years of the emperors. Obviously. the Pallavas of Guntur were no exception. They accepted Chalukya supremacy after the death of Kulottunga and prior to A.D. 1127 in which year a record of theirs is dated in the 46th Year of Vikramaditya<sup>23</sup> and refers to the conferment of raddikam on Boddhna. This record and that of A.D. 1132 also mentioning the requirement of raddikam of Bezvada by Boddana from the king of Karnataka ie Vikramaditya VI show that Vikramaditya just confirmed the grants made by Kulottunga.

### **Boddana and Bhima and other kings**

Choda I of the Velanandus, Rajaparendu I of the Kona Haihayas, Beta I, Vikrama I, Rajaraja I and Beta II of the Palnad Haihayas, Dora I of the Chagis, Manda I, Buddhavarman II, Ganda and Manda II of the Kondapadumatis, Bhima I of the Kotas, Durga of the Natavadis Vijayaditya II and Vishnuvardhana of the Pithapur Chalukyas, Gonka I of Vengi

chalukyas, Nandivarma of the Pallavas of Nellore, Kannara, Betta and Vimaladitya of the Telugu Cholas were some of the contemporaries of Beddana and Bhima. We have no evidence whether Beddana and Bhima came into conflict with any of these rulers. The Titles<sup>24</sup> paramandalachurakara ie raiders of the provinces of the enemies and gurumarajamandu ie Vama to gurumara, suggest some of their conquests. But the enemies are not specified and gurumara probably refers to some hill tribes, who must have raided their kingdom often and were checked.<sup>25</sup> Similarly the kings subservient to Bhima are not mentioned.

### **Bhima and Naga A.D. 1127-1150**

Bhima and Naga ruled together for a period of twenty-three years. The records of Bhima are found in a continuous series from A.D. 1127 and Naga, son of Beddana, became joint ruler with him after Beddana. The records of the reign by their location and contents enable us to visualise the extent and expansion of the kingdom. The earliest inscription<sup>26</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1129 and the 4th year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana Maharaja and records gifts by Bhima, brother of mandalika Boddinayaka. The next record<sup>27</sup> is at Bapatla dated A.D. 1130 mentioning the king as mahamandalika Bhima nayaka and giving his long prasasti. The record dated A.D. 1131 at Bezvada<sup>28</sup> records gifts by Nagadeva, son of Gonturi Boddinayaka. Naga's prasasti is identical with that of Bhima. The next record also at Bezvada<sup>29</sup> with date A.D. 1134 mentions Nagadeva, the sdhyaksha of Boddanayakulu—Bhima's inscription of A.D. 1146 at Bezvada records Somanapreggada's gifts to temples at Bhimavaram, Draksharama, Palakol, the Panch aramas in Andhradesa ie Amaradalu, Chebrole, Bidupur, Bezvada and Guntur.<sup>30</sup> The next record dated A.D. 1149 is from Draksharama mentioning Prolaya brother of Dandanayaka Nagadevayya, son of Mranaya, lord of Goranta and minister of Boddana Bhima.<sup>31</sup> An undated record of Bhima is at Yenamalakuduru.<sup>32</sup> The reign of Bhima and Naga must have ended in A.D. 1149—the last date for them available so far.

### **Their Political Relations**

Bhima was a great warrior and is compared with Bhima in valour Naga bore the epithet—Vengidesachalukyanamkakara. In extending the kingdom as far as Draksharama in the north eastern direction, Bhima and Naga must have come into conflict with the local kingdoms—the Saranathas, the Kona Haihayas and the Chalukyas of Pithapur, besides the Velanandu chodas. In this task they must have been assisted by an efficient army manned by generals of mark. For, Prolaya was a great warrior like Sahasrarjuna and was known as Nagarjuna and his brother Nagadevayya was a dandanayaka.

### **Bhima and Naga and the Cholas**

The Chola emperors in this period were Vikramachola and Kulottunga II. The Chola supremacy in Vengi was restored and the local dynasties transferred their loyalty from the Chalukya to Chola. As seen above. Beddana and Bhima owed allegiance to the Chalukyas in A.D. 1127. Two years hence in A.D. 1129 Bhima and Naga came under chola supremacy as the record<sup>33</sup> of that year is dated in the 4th year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana maharaja ie Vikramachola and 4th year is a mistake for the 9th year. The epithet—Vengidesachalukyanamkakara in Naga's record dated A.D. 1134<sup>34</sup> attests the continuation of the Telugu Pallava loyalty to Kulottunga II.

### **Bhima and Naga and the chalukyas**

Vikramaditya and Somesvara III were the Chalukya emperors in this period. So long as Vikramaditya lived and during the early years of Somesvara's rule, Bhima and Naga continued their subordination to the Chalukyas. Till A.D. 1129 they submitted to Chalukya sway and not afterwards.

### **Bhima and Naga and other rulers**

The Velanandu Choda rulers in this period were Choda I and Gonka II. Though there are no specific references of the

subordination of the Telugu Pallavas to the Velanandus in this period, the fact that the Velanandu power was in the ascendant and the kingdom included major part of the Telugu land,<sup>35</sup> implies the subordination of Bhima and Naga to Gonka II.

Rajendra choda I, Mummadi Bhima II and Satya I, the Konamandala, Dora I at Amaravati, Nambiraja I at Virarajapuri, Durga of the Natavadis, Bhima I of the Konakandravadis, Rajendrachoda and Katamanayaka of the Saranathas, Vishnuvardhana (1123-24-1145) and Mallapa II of the Pithapur chalukyas, and Sarngadhara I at Addanki were contemporaneous with Bhima and Naga. In extending the kingdom, Bhima and Naga probably came into touch with some of these rulers. The title Dakkunudalasasana borne by king Naga suggests that he came in possession of Dakkunudla—probably of some importance—from some enemies of his, after vanquishing them. Naga's titles—paramandala churakara and Kurumarajamundaina are hereditary—kurumara probably referring to Kurumbas—wild tribes in hilly regions.

### Narayana A.D. 1150-1163

Narayana, the second son of Beddana succeeded Bhima and Naga on the Pallava throne. His succession presupposes the death of his elder brother Nagadeva prior to Bhima, his earliest inscription is from Rajahmundry,<sup>36</sup> dated 1149 A.D. registering the gifts of Somana, son of Daltena, and minister of Narayana to Virabhadra at Pattisam. It enumerates Somana's charities at Dhimavaram. Draksharama, Amadalu, Gudipudi, Palakel, Virabhadresvaram, Bhavapattana, Tamrapuri, Vijapura, Ghantasalapura, Gokaram, Elisvaram, Vegisvaram, Vijayavataka, undavilli, Velpur, Guntur and Kadalupalli. In his record at Bezvada,<sup>37</sup> dated A.D. 1150 Narayanadeva bore a prasasti. His next inscription<sup>38</sup> dated A.D. 1155, also from Bezvada, mentions his pradhani, Somana preggada Dattena. Narayana's inscription<sup>39</sup> at Srikakulam is dated A.D. 1155. An undated record<sup>40</sup> of his at Bezvada mentions his pradhani Kuchena-preggada. Though no records of Narayana are found after A.D. 1155 his reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1163—the earliest date for his successor Dorapanayaka.

### His Political Relations

As attested by records, the pallava kingdom retained its usual extent from Kallepalli to Draksharama under Narayana. Narayana's prasasti differs from that of his predecessors, some of the titles, speaking of him as a distinguished warrior, destroyer of enemies and lord of Vengivishaya—Sri Vengivishaya-dhimandalesvara.<sup>41</sup> In records, Narayana is mentioned as mahamandalika Boddana Narayana deva, Gonturi Narayana devaraju and Narayanadeva.

Some of Narayana's contemporaries in other kingdoms were Rajaraja II of the Cholas, Gonka II of the Velanandu chodas, Bhima III and Loka of Kona Haihayas, Nalakama of the Palnad Haihayas, Dora I of the Chagis, Buddha IV and Manda IV of the Kondapadumatis, Bhima II of the Kotas, Trailokyamalla of the Parichchedis, Durga and Buddha of the Natavadis, Bhima II and Pota of the Konakandravadis Somayanayaka of the Saranathas, Nallapa II and Vijayaditya III of Pithapur charukyas, Mahadeva of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole, Vijayaditya of Nellore Pallavas and Nannichoda II of the Konidena Cholas. Narayana reigned in peace and does not seem to have come into conflict with any of these rulers. Probably he owed allegiance to Gonka II of the Velanandus.

### Dorapanayaka A.D. 1163-1170

Dorapa's relationship to Narayana, his predecessor is not known. His earliest inscription<sup>42</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1163 and the 19th year of Rajaraja mentioning Pradhani Dattena preggada, son of Somanapreggada. The next record also is from Draksharama dated in the 25th year of r...jadevara.<sup>43</sup> registering gifts for the merit of...panayaka. In this, the names of Rajaraja and Dorapa are partly damaged. An undated record<sup>44</sup> at Draksharama mentions Dattamatyasoma's gifts to Pancharamas.

### His Political Relations

Dorapa's reign was short lasting only for seven years as 25th year of Rajaraja II corresponds to A.D. 1170.

The usual prasasti including the titles—Vengichalukyanam-kakara and paramandala churakaru.<sup>45</sup> The extent of the kingdom remained as under Bhima and Narayana, attested by the provenance of his records at Draksharama.

### **Dorapa and the cholas**

The Chola emperor in this period was Rajaraja II. Dorapa began his reign by acknowledging Chola supremacy as his first record is dated in the 18th year of emperor Rajaraja. His record of the 25th year of the emperor shows the continuity of his loyalty.

### **Dorapa and other kings**

Dorapa, it is likely, locally recognised the suzerainty of Choda II of the Velanandus. We have no evidence of his having come into conflict with the rulers in Kona Haihaya, Kolanu, Palnad Haihaya, Kondapadumati, Kota, Natavadi, the local chalukya, Telugu chola and other pallava kingdoms.

### **A.D. 1170-1216. Interval**

No immediate successors of Dorapa are heard of. No pallava records are available during the period of forty six years from A.D. 1170 to 1216. This period saw the decline of the Velanandu choda kingdom and the spread of the Kakatiya power into the Telugu country.

### **·Odayaraja A.D. 1216-1234**

At the end of the interval of forty-six years, Gonturi Odayaraja appears on the political arena. His only record<sup>46</sup> is from Bezvada dated A.D. 1216 recording gifts by samastasanadhipati Mayanapreggada, son of mantri Soma and grandson of Kalyanadeva, a native of Vengigrama. No later records of Odayaraja are available. He did not bear a prasasti. His rule may have lasted up to A.D. 1234—the earliest date for his successor Nagadvaraja.

### His Political Relations

In his only record Odaya is mentioned as mahamandalika, Gonturi Odayaraju. The Chola emperor in this period was Rajaraja III. There are no signs of allegiance of the Telugu Pallavas after Dorapa to the cholas after Rajaraja II.

### Odayaraja and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiyas under Ganapati (A.D. 1199-1260) were expanding their power at the expense of the local kingdoms in Vengi. The lack of Pallava records after A.D. 1170 and prior to A.D. 1216 must have been due to the pressure of the Kakatiyas on the kingdom Odayaraja would have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas. By the close of his reign, the Kakatiya generals were making grants in the heart of the Guntur district.

### Nagadevaraja A.D. 1235-1254

Nagadeva had a reign of twenty years. His earliest inscription<sup>47</sup> is from Kondanayanivaram, dated A.D. 1135. It traces the King's descent from Siva and refers to the founder Kaduvetti, the founder of the 70 villages. Nagadeva's next inscription<sup>48</sup> is from Bezvada dated A.D. 1242 in which only the last letter of the surname (Gonturi) of Nagadeva is preserved. It mentions Potanamatyā, samastasenadhipati of the king and lord of Gopipa i.e. Gopipettana. The last record<sup>49</sup> of the reign is from Bezvada dated A.D. 1254. In A.D. 1251, Narayana<sup>50</sup> brother of Nagadeva made some grants at Kondanayanivaram. Probably Naga associated Narayanu in governing the kingdom towards the close of his reign.

### His Political Relations

Nagadeva, like Odayaraja, did not bear a prasasti. His relationship to Odayaraja is not known. In one record, he is mentioned as Sakalagunalamkritumdāina Srimanmahamandalika Gonturi Nagadevaraju.<sup>51</sup> Nagadeva was a stronger ruler than Odaya. He must have possessed a good army.

The rulers contemporary with Naga in other kingdoms were—Rajaraja III and Rajendra III of the Cholas, Mallideva II and Bhima IV of the Konahaihayas, Ganapati and Dora III of the Chagis, Keta III and Manma Ganapati of the Kotas, Rudradeva, Beta and Ganapama of the Yenamandala Kotas, Bhima of the Parichedis, Rudra I and Rudra II of the Nata-vadis, Mahadava and Ganapati of the Malayas, Mangayaadeva of the Sarohathas, Chandrasekhara and Vijayaditya IV of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, Ayyapadeva II of the Vengi chalukyas, Abhideva Malideva of the Nellore Pallavas, Madhava and Singala of the Yadavas and Kumaradeva, Tikka I, Manmasiddhi III and Allutikka of the Telugu cholas.

### Naga and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiya ruler was Gangapati Nagadeva came into conflict with the Kakatiyas and lost his life in fighting. For Pattasahini Padikamu Boppadeva,<sup>52</sup> general of Ganapati and Rudrama had the epithets—Godavaritirasamaragandivi, Gonturinagadevanitalagondaganda and Kakatiya Ganapatidevamaharajadivyasripadapadmaradhaka in his Tripurantakam epigraph dated A.D. 1161 and the 2nd year of Rudradeva Maharaja. The title regarding Gonturi Nagadeva definitely shows that he was killed which must have happened before A.D. 1261—the date of the record mentioning the title. Probably as has been suggested already,<sup>53</sup> Nagadeva along with the Kayasthas and other feudatories of the Kakatiyas; rebelled against the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas towards the close of the reign of Ganapati and the beginning of Rudrama's reign. Consequently, the Kakatiya armies under Boppadeva invaded the pallava kingdom.

### The End

Nagadeva was the last ruler of the main line of the Pallavas of Guntur, as no sons or successors of his are heard of. His rule lasted up to A.D. 1260 and on his death, his kingdom came to be included in the Kakatiya dominions,

### Other Pallavas

From a record<sup>54</sup> at Madamanchipadu dated A.D. 1226, a Dallava king—whose name is lost—is heard of. He belonged to the lineage of Mukkanti Kaduvetti—the bearer of the Pallava prasasti with one of the epithets—the establishers of 700 agrahana to the east of Srisailam. His father was Anna-Vijayadityadeva Maharaja and his elder brothers were Beddana and Mallaya. Probably all these were members of a collateral branch of the Guntur Pallavas, and were subordinate to Odayaraja, the ruler at Guntur at that time.

An inscription at Srikakulam<sup>55</sup> with date and King's name lost—mentions a king bearing the Pallava prasasti. A record<sup>56</sup> at Akiripalle dated A.D. 1251 mentions mahamandalesvara Viranarayana Buddiga devaraja, probably of Pallava descent. A record<sup>57</sup> at Purushottapatam near Gannavaram mentions mahamandalika Bhimayya, son of Boryana Kulottunga. Perhaps Boryane is corrupt form of Boddana and he and Bhima were of the lineage of the Telugu Pallavas of Guntur. An inscription<sup>58</sup> at Bezvada dated A.D. 1465 in the reign of Kapilesvara Gajapati mentions mahamandalesvara *Viragonturi Narayanadevarajulu*. This prince is obviously a descendant of the Pallava dynasty of Guntur, figuring two hundred years after the kingdom ceased to exist with the death of Nagadeva in A.D. 1260. He was a subordinate of Kapilesvara of the Gajapatis of Orissa, whose sway extended over the Telugu country by A.D. 1465 and Gajapati viceroalties were established eg. at Kondapalli, Rajahmundry etc.

### The Pallavas of Nellore A.D. 1050-1300

The Pallavas of Nellore ruled for nearly two centuries and a half from the middle of the 11th to the close of the 13th. At its smallest, this Pallava kingdom was limited to the Udayagiri area in Nellore district and at its highest included the entire Nellore district and parts of Chingleput and Cuddapah districts. The capitals at different times were Chodapuram, Kanchi, Prodduturu, Nellore and Pentrala. These Telugu pallavas were an independant power and their

political achievements great and remarkable entitle them for a prominent place in the political map of contemporary South India.

### **Doraparaju A.D. 1050-1102**

The earliest member of the dynasty was Doraparaju. He may be placed about the latter half of the 11th century A.D. as the initial date for his son and successor was A.D. 1102.<sup>59</sup> None of his records are available. Probably his kingdom was confined to Udayagiri area, with capital at Chodapuram.

#### **His Political Relations**

Dorapa bore an elaborate prasasti.<sup>60</sup> Some of the epithets—pallavakulatilaka, bharadvajagotra, Khatvanggadhwa, kaduve-ttivamsavatara, lord of Kanchi, and devotee of Goddess Mamakoti attest Dorapa's Pallava origin. His titles noduvadi-sahasarjuna, samaraprachanda and digvijayartha speak for his capacities as a warrior. He, probably established himself an independent ruler in the period of the unsettled political condition of Vengi—prior to the accession of Kulottunga I, when the Chalukyas of Vengi were declaiming before the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Velananda chodas and Telugu Choda powers were yet to emerge. But, he must have recognised Chalukya Chola supremacy under Kulottunga I along with other rulers in Vengi and helped the Chola viceroys, in their wars.

### **Yammaraju Alias Nandivarma Maharaja A.D. 1102**

Dorapa had five sons—Irugaraju, Samartaraju, Yemmaraju, Bhimaraju, and Manchiraju. Of them, the third son was crowned as king on A.D. 1102 chitrabhanu, in the month of Rishavha at Chodapuram.<sup>61</sup> On that occasion, he assumed the name. Nandivarma Maharaja. His accession was either due to the early demise of his two elder brothers or to his outstanding capacities as a ruler. His capital was Ponunganti madurevi. His coronation was signalled by the grant of twelve villages in Punginadu to Brahmins.

### His Political Relations

The upper limit of Nandivarma's reign is not known. None of his records except the one of the initial year are available. The suggestions<sup>62</sup> that Nandivarma's capital was Prodduturu in the Cuddapah district, that his kingdom extended from Prodduturu to Udayagiri etc. places in Udayagiri Taluq (Nellore district) and that Chodapuram was probably outside Nellore district are baseless. For internal evidence shows that the villages granted by the king, Punugodu and Chodavaram were all within Nellore district and his kingdom included Udayagiri and extended from Nellore into Cuddapah district.

Like Dorapa, Nandivaram must have owed allegiance to Kulottunga I and his viceroy Vikramachola in Vengi.

### Vijayaditya A.D. 1150 or 1157-1182

Probably. Nandivarma's reign lasted till A.D. 1150 or 115 the earliest date for his successor Vijayaditya. Vijayaditya's only inscription is from Kattapalli and mentions Korradhamadugu dated 1151 or 1157 A.D.<sup>63</sup> His relationship to his predecessor Nandivarma is not known. Vijayaditya's reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1182—the earliest date for his successor Allutikka.

### His Political Relations

Some of the rulers in other kingdoms in this period were Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II of the Colas, Gonka II and Choda II of the Velanandu Chodas, Bhima III and Loka and their successors of the Kona Haihyas, Virakama of the Palnad Haihayas, Dora I and Pota I of the Chagis, Bhima II of the Kotas, Bhima of the Pariehchedis, Buddha of the Natavadis, Somaya of the Saranathas, Mallapa II and Vijayaditya III of the Chalukyas of Pithapur Mahadeva of the Vengi Chalukyas, Namichoda II and Kamanachoda of the Konidena cholas and Siddhi and Siddhi I of the Nellore cholas. It is likely that Vijayaditya recognised the suzerainty of the Chola emperors.

**Alluntirukalatti A.D. 1182-1218**

Son of Damavarma and Kattadiprolamma Alluntirukalatti alias Allutikka began his rule in A.D. 1182. His relationship to Vijayaditya is not known. Two records<sup>64</sup> of Allutikka are at Gandavaram (Nellore taluq) one dated A.D. 1182 and the other undated. Probably Allutikka's reign lasted up to A.D. 1219—the earliest date for his successor Abhideva Malideva Maharaja.

**His Political Relations**

Perhaps, Damavarma was in the service of Vijayaditya. Some of Allutikka's epithets were—pallavavamsasekhara and destroyer of enemies. Kulottinga III of the Cholas, Gonka III and Prithvisvara, of the Velanandus, Mallideva II and Manmasatya of the Kona Haihayas, pota I, Dora II and Pota II or the Chagis. Keta II of the Kotas, Mahadeva of the Malayas, Kesava of the Saruthas, Vijayaditya III and Mallapa III of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, Madhava of Yadavas, Siddhi I, Nallasidhi I, Errasiddhi, Manmasiddhi II, and Tikka of the Nellore Cholas were contemporaneous with Allutikka. Allutikka must have acknowledged Chola suzerainty.

**Abhidevamalideva's Maharaja A.D. 1218-1269**

Abhideva Malideva's relationship to Allutikka is not known. His earlier inscription is dated A.D. 1218<sup>65</sup> from Darsi taluq. The inscription<sup>66</sup> at Somavaradadu (Darsi taluq) with date A.D. 1269 gives the complete prasasti of a Pallava ruler whose name is lost. Probably this ruler is Abhideva. If so his reign may have lasted till that year.

**His Political Relations**

The Chola emperors in this period were Rajaraja III and Rajendra III. In Vengi, the Velanandus declined and the Kakatiya power was widespread. The Nellore Cholas under Tikka I. Manmasiddha III and Allutikka an important power.

Abhideva Malideva was a warrior, as attested by his records.. He captured Jaladanki—an important fortress as his title Jaladankibhairava indicates probably from the Telugu cholas of Nellore.

### **Bhimaraja A.D. 1214-1233-34**

Bhimaraja, a contemporary of Abhideva, ruled in the southern part of the Nellore district. His relationship to Abhideva Malideva is not known. Bhimaraja is identical with Tyagasamudrapattai Vimarasan of Sulturpet<sup>67</sup> and Kalahasti inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> In the 32nd year of Kulottunga III, Bhima made gifts at Kalahasti and the record mentioning this is the earliest of Bhima. His next two records dated in the 13th and the 17th years of Rajaraja III respectively are at Sulturpet. From these records it is clear that Bima's reign lasted from A.D. 1214 to 1233-34 for a period of 1920 years.

### **His Political Relations**

In his records, Bhima is mentioned as the Lord of Ayodhya stated to have been located in the Kingdom of Madhurantaka Pottapichola Gandagopala.<sup>69</sup> His rule began towards the close of the reign of Allurtikka.

### **Bhima and the Cholas**

The Chola emperors in this period were Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III. Bhima's allegiance to them is attested by his records dated in the regnal years of the Chola emperors.

### **Bima and the Telugu Cholas**

Ballichoda at Konidena, Opilisiddhi II and his successors at Pottapi, Tikka I alias M.P.C. Gandagopala were the Telugu Chola Emperors contemporary with Bhima. On the decline of the Velanandus, the Telugu Cholas of Nellore became supreme in Vengi and Tikka I was a supporter of the Imperial Cholas and enemy of the Kakatiyas. Just as in the Twelfth Century A.D. many local dynasties in Vengi recognised Chola supremacy and that of the Velanandus, in this period they acknowledged

Chola and Telugu Chola suzerainty. Bhima's allegiance to Tikka I is clear in the statement that Ayodhya probably a place of local importance of which he was the Lord was situated in the kingdom of M.P.C. Gandagopala i.e. Tikka I.

Probably Bhima was on friendly terms with Allutikka and Abhideva Mallideva of the Pallavas and the contemporary rulers in Konahaihya, Chagi, Kota, Natavadi, Kolanu, Parichchedi and Chalukya kingdoms. He must have enjoyed the support of the Telugu Cholas in offensive and defensive warfare.

### **Inumadideva A.D. 1234-1268**

Son of Bhima Raja, Inumadideva succeeded his father on the throne probably in A.D. 1234, the last date for Bhima. His only record<sup>70</sup> is from Pentrola (Kandukur Taluk) dated A.D. 1259 mentioning Inumadi Gandagopala Vijayadittadeva Maharaja, probably his son. It registers gifts for the prosperity of his kingdom by Madhusudana. In A.D. 1268<sup>th</sup> year of his accession, Inumadideva Maharaja made gifts at Nagalavaram for the merit of his parents—Bhima and Sridevi.<sup>71</sup> probably accession here is formal coronation which was delayed so long for reasons unknown to us. Probably Inumadi associated Vijayaditya in governing the Kingdom from A.D. 1259. The upper limit of the reign is not known.

### **His Political Relations**

Inumadi bore the usual Pallava Prasasti one of the titles being Jaladankibhairava. Probably he assisted Abhideva Mallideva in the capture of Jaladanki and so took the title. The ruler's in other kingdoms contemporaneous with Inumadi were Raja Raja III and Rajendra III of the Cholas, Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kakatiyas and Tikka I, Manmasiddha III and Allutika of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, besides many local rulers. Like Bhima, Inumadi probably owed allegiance to the Cholas and the Telugu Cholas. He did not come into conflict with any local rulers.

### Viragandagopala A.D. 1243-1253

Viragandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas exercised independent sway for a decade from A.D. 1243. He was exercising sway in the southern most portions of Nellore district and part of Chingleput district while Abhideva Mallideva and Inumadideva ruled about this time in the northern and southern parts of Nellore district. Towards the close of his reign, Viragandagopala associated his younger brother, celebrated Vijayagandagopala in the governance of the kingdom. In the midst of powerful kingdoms—the Cholas, the Pandyas, Hoysalas, The Kadavarayas, the Yadavarayas, the Kakatiyas and the Telugu Chodas, Viragandagopala extended his kingdom from Nellore to Kanchi and handed it down to his successor Vijayagandagopala.

How Viragandagopala came in possession of a kingdom and his relation to Abhideva Mallideva, Bhima and Inumadideva are not known. It has been said that “he probably declared his independence during the political turmoils of the Chola Civil war in 1243”<sup>72</sup> But this is of no value for Professor Sastri has disproved this Civil War between Raja Raja III and Rajendra III.<sup>73</sup> Anyway, the political condition of Vengi in this period—when the Chola authority in it was not strong, the Velanandu power had decayed, the Kakatiya suzerainty was not well established and the Telugu Cholas were busy fighting elsewhere was convenient for Viragandagopala to carve out a kingdom for himself. Viragandagopala’s records definitely say that he was a Pallava and of Bharadvaja Gotra, so that all doubts regarding that question may be dismissed.

#### Extent of the Kingdom

The records of Viragandagopala determine the bounds of his kingdom. Most of them are from Gudur Taluk in Nellore District, Little Conjeevaram and Ramagiri in Chingleput district and are issued by King’s subordinates and are dated in his regnal years. The inscription at Ramagiri dated in the 3rd year of Viragandagopala<sup>74</sup> mentions Viranarasimha Yadavaraya. Viragandagopala’s Conjeevaram inscription is dated in his 4th

year.<sup>75</sup> His record of the 9th year<sup>76</sup> from Gudur Taluk mentions Mallideva Rasan, his subordinate. In his 10th year Viragandagopala's career was cut short by Jatavarman Sundarapandya I, the monarch of the Pandyas.

### **His Political Relations**

In extending his kingdom Viragandagopala met with powerful opponents in the Pandyas, the Yadavarayas, and the Kadavarayas, besides others. It may be pointed out that Viragandagopala has been confused and sometimes even identified with Vijayagandagopala, which is wrong.

### **Viragandagopala and the Yadavarayas**

The Yadavarayas were a strong feudatory power in this period. They generally acknowledged Chola Suzerainty. The Yadava Ruler contemporaneous with Viragandagopala was Rajamalla Yadavaraya alias nujabalasiddarasar. Viragandagopala came into conflict with him and Subjugated him by A.D. 1246—his III year<sup>77</sup> Probably he invaded the Yadavaraya kingdom, captured Ramagiri and subdued Rajamalla. Rajamalla's subordination to Viragandagopala lasted till the end of the latter's reign when in A.D. 1252-1253, he was forced to acknowledge the Pandyan yoke under Jatavarman Sundarapandya I in his 3rd year.<sup>78</sup>

### **Viragandagopala and the Kadavarayas**

The greatest of the Kadavarayas was Kopperunjinga<sup>79</sup> alias Maharajasimha entitled Avanyavanodhbhava and Sakalabhuvanachakravarti. He was a menace to the security of the Chola, Telugu Chola, and Telugu Pallava Kingdoms even from A.D. 1233, and especially towards the close of the reign of Viragandagopala. Kopperunjinga - Sarvajnakhadgamalla claims to have conquered both Vira and Vijaya.<sup>80</sup> But evidently Viragandagopala did not suffer any reverse in the hands of Kopperunjinga and the latter's claim is based on the Pandyan Monarch's victory over Viragandagopala, as has been suggested<sup>81</sup> already by some writers. Thus Kopperunjinga assisted the Pandyas in fighting Viragandagopala.

### Viragandagopala and the Kakatiyas

Viragandagopala and Ganapathi of the Kakatiyas were political allies and acted together against the Pandyal Monarch towards the close of the reign of Viragandagopala though not with any success.

### Viragandagopala and the Pandyas

Maravarman Sundarapandya II who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1238 and Jatavarman Sundarapandya I whose accession was between 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251-were the Pandyan contemporaries of Viragandagopala. Under the celebrated Sundarapandya I "one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of South India", the second empire of the Pandyas reached its widest extent and attained the height of its splendour. Practically the whole of South India upto Nellore and Cuddapah was brought for a time under Pandya Supremacy and all the rival dynasties, old and new, were beaten in the field or laid under tribute.<sup>82</sup>

Viragandagopala came into conflict with the Pandyan Emperor in defensive warfare when the latter invaded the Telugu Pallava dominions Sometime before A.D. 1260 - the last for Ganapati, Jatavarman Sundarapandya I led a campaign against the Northern Kings and inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas of Mudugur, slowering them and their allies, the Aryas, right up to the bank of the Peraru and driving the Bana Chief into the forest.<sup>83</sup> The order of expressions in the Sanas-krit Prasasti seems to be significant<sup>84</sup> suggesting the order of occurrence of the events in the campaign attested by his other inscriptions - viz. killing of Gandagopala, occupation of Conjeevaram, defeat of Kakatiya Ganapati and the ceremony of Virabishaga at Nellore.<sup>85</sup> Jatavarman Sundarapandya's other records<sup>86</sup> refer to Viragandagopala as merely Gandagopala and Ganapati as Andhreswara. Consequently the statement that Andhreswara refers to Viragandagopala ruling over Nellore<sup>87</sup> does not stand as Andhreswara and Andhranagara generally apply to the Kakatiyas and their capital in contemporary records and literature. The identification of

Mudugur—the scena of battle with Muttukur in the Nellore district has been suggested<sup>88</sup> and Professor Sastri has assumed that the Arayar “is a reference to Ganapathi and his forces which aided Gandagopala”<sup>89</sup>. Thus the campaign was against Viragandagopala who opposed the enemy with the help of the Kakatiyas and the Banas and was defeated and killed. Vijayagandagopala, brother of Viragandagopala lost his independence to the Pandyas. Perhaps to perpetuate and celebrate his victory over Viragandagopala, Sundarapandya I performed virabhishega at Nellore and as the Pandyan records attest, installed Vijayagandagopala as the ruler of the kingdom which was annexed to the Pandyan Empire.<sup>90</sup> This must have taken place in A.D. 1253—the last date for Viragandagopala.

### Viragandagopala and other rulers

Rajaraja III and Rajendra III of the cholas, Tikka I, Allutikka and Manmasiddha III of the Telugu cholas Mallideva II and Bhima IV of the Konahaihayas. Dora III and Ganapati of the Chagis, Keta III and Ganapati. Beta and Ganapama of the Kotas, Bhima, of the Parichchedis Rudra I and Rudra II of the Natavadis, Ganapati of the Malayas, Mangayadeva of the Saranathas, Mallapa II of the Chalukyas and Madhava and Singala of the Yadavas were contemporaneous with Viragandagopala. There is no evidence of Vira—Gandagopala coming into contact with any of this rulers.

### Vijayagandagopala A.D. 1250-1285

Vijayagandagopala, the greatast of the Telugu pallavas had a reign of 35 years. He was trained in the arts of war and peace as associate ruler with Viragandagopala towards the close of his reign. The records of Vijayagandagopala range from his second to the 35th year. He had strong political contemporaries in Jatavarma Sundarapandya I, Ganapati, Koperunjinga<sup>91</sup> and emperor Rajendra III of the cholas. Vijayagandagopala had many feudatories of Pallava and other lineages under him.

### Extent of the kingdom

The Extent of the kingdom of Vijayagandagopala is seen from his records and those of his subordinates. The earliest record of the reign is from Sulurpet (Nellore dt.) dated in Vijayagandagopala's second year.<sup>92</sup> Two inscriptions of his 3rd year<sup>93</sup> are from Melur (North Arcot) and Conjeevaram. An inscription at Tirupukkuli<sup>94</sup> and another at Tirupati<sup>95</sup> give the 4th year of Vijayagandagopala. The next record<sup>96</sup> is from Tirupati dated in the 5th year of the king. Two inscriptions<sup>97</sup> one from Tirupati and one from Tripurantakam give the 9th and the 14th year of Vijayagandagopala respectively. A Conjeevaram inscription<sup>98</sup> is dated in the 15th year of Vijayagandagopala. The 16th year<sup>99</sup> of the king is mentioned in two records at Conjeevaram and one at Tirupukkuli. The next record is of the 26th year of the king and one of the 28th year is from Uttiramerur<sup>100</sup> (Conjeevaram taluq). Vijayagandagopala's only record from hepaka<sup>101</sup> (Cuddapah district) is dated in his 29th year. Two records<sup>102</sup> of the 30th year are at Conjeevaram and Tirappukkuli—one in each place. A record of the 31st year is at Conjeevaram and of the 32nd year is from Tirupukkuli. Besides these, two of Vijayagandagopala's records<sup>103</sup> are at Takkolam and one at Tiruvannaikkal or Jambukesvaram and another at Chiramana (Atmakur Taluq). dated A.D. 1285 corresponding to his 35th year.<sup>104</sup>

### His Political Relations

Vijayagandagopala, a Tribhuvana chakravarti and mahama-ndalesvara bore the usual Pallava prasasti beginning with paramavamsodhbhava<sup>105</sup> etc. To identity him with Vijayagandagopala, younger brother of Malavaraya and the minister of Tribhuvana chakravarti Konerimaikondan and with Gandagopala i.e. Tikka I and Allutikka of the Telugu cholas is a mistake. The statements "probably distinct from this Vijayagandagopala are two other chiefs (or a chief) of the same name claiming Pallava lineage and mentioned in a record from Tripurantakam (in the Kurnool district) and in an inscription from Atmakur (in the Nellore district),<sup>106</sup>" is incorrect for we

have seen above that the records referred to belong to one Vijayagandagopala, the great Telugu pallava would show that the boundary line between their respective territories was not clearly defined.<sup>107</sup> As the earliest records of Vijayagandagopala are from Nellore area it is evident that he succeeded his brother there and in course of time extended the kingdom in the southern direction.

### **Vijayagandagopala and the Pandayas**

The Pandyan contemporaries of Vijayagandagopala were Jatavarman, Sundarandya I and Mallapavaraman Kulasekhara I (Accession—A.D. 1268)<sup>108</sup> Vijayagandagopala vanquished by Jatavarman towards the close of the reign of Viragandagopala was loyal to the Pandyan emperors in this period and so had not trouble to his kingdom from them.

### **Vijayagandagopala and Kopperunjinga**

Perhaps Vijayagandagopala and Kopperunjinga were on terms of friendship. The latter's claim<sup>109</sup> have defeated the former is based on the Pandyan success over him along with Viragandagopala towards the close of Vira's reign. The next records of both are found side by side in the kingdom of Vijayagandagopala—Chingleput district and the surrounding country between the years A.D. 1254 and 1263 at Conjeevaram. Tiruvadisulam, Tirumalisai (Chingleput district and Tiruparkanal N. Arcot dt.)<sup>110</sup> There was no overlapping of the reign of Vijayaganda with that of Kopperunjinga. Kopperunjinga's dominions extended roughly from Conjeevaram in the north to Tiruvidaimarudur in the south.<sup>111</sup> The territory to the north of Conjeevaram was under Vijayagandagopala. Their records side by side would show that the boundary line between their respective territories was not clearly defined.<sup>112</sup>

### **Vijayagandagopala and the Kakatiyas**

Ganapati and Rudrama were the Kakatiya contemporaries of Vijayagandagopala. In this reign of Viragandagopala, the

Telugu pallavas and the Kakatiyas were allies and fought against the Pandyas. Probably the same relationship continued between Vijayagandagopala and the Kakatiyas. The suggestion<sup>113</sup> that Vijayaagandagopala was a samanta feudatory of Ganapati, the Kakatiya is not borne out by evidence. On the other hand, the suzerainty of Vijayagandalgopala is recognised by the Kakatiya subordinates in their records in the Telugu Pallavas kingdom. Brahmiseti, minister of Ganapati made gifts at Conjeevaram in the 7th year of Vijayagandagopala (A.D. 1257).<sup>114</sup> This shows the prevalence of the authority of Vijayagandagopala in Kanchi even after A.D. 1255—the year in which the supremacy of the Telugu cholas was recognised in a Kakatiyas inscription at Kanchi. The recognition by the Kakatiyas of the Telugu chola and Telugu pallava supremacy at Kanchi shows that the Kakatiya empire was already showing signs of decay towards the close of the reign of Ganapati—after A.D. 1250 in which year his records at Kanchi attest his power.

The authority of Vijayagandagopala was experienced by the Kakatiyas in the reign of Rudrama, in another quarter. For in his Tripurantakam inscription,<sup>115</sup> Vijayagandagopala does not recognise Kakatiya supremacy.

### **Vijayagandagopala and the Telugu Cholas**

The Telugu chola rulers contemporaneous with Vijayagandagopala were Kannaradeva at Konidena, Manmasiddha III, Tikka II and Manmagandagopala at Nellore and Allutikka at Kanchi. Allutikka had a reign of twenty-four years from A.D. 1248 and in A.D. 1255 Konakattaiyan, a minister of Ganapati recorded gifts in the 5th year<sup>116</sup> of Allutikka. He claims to have killed the kings of the south, taken Kanchi and ruled their after making it his own. But his authority over Kanchi suffered an eclipse for by A.D. 1257, Vijayagandagopala enforced his authority there.

In extending his power into Kanchi, Vijayagandagopala came into conflict with the Telugu chodas. Tikkana somayaji says that Cholana Manmasiddhi had successes over the kings of Dravida, Karnata and vanquished king Vijaya, the greatest, of

his enemies.<sup>117</sup> Manmasiddhi Gandagopala was also known as the destroyer of the pride of Vijaya.<sup>118</sup> Evidently Cholana Manmasiddhi refers to Manmasiddhi III and Manmasiddhi Gandagopala to either of his sons, Tikka I or Manmagandagopala. So in extending his power in the northern direction, Vijayagandagopala came into conflict with Manmasiddhi III and his sons of the Nellore cholas and suffered severe defeat. This was probably about A.D. 1256 prior to his expedition to Kanchi. Perhaps to compensate for his failure in the north—A.D. 1257 he started on southward expansion, met and vanquished Allutikka and left his records in the temples in Kanchi, perhaps to signify his success over the great Telugu Allutikka.

### Vijayagandagopala's feudatories

Madhusudanadeva of family of the Telugu pallavas was a feudatory of Vijayagandagopala. The Earliest member was Anduluri Vijayaditta Dechini. Probably Anduluru<sup>119</sup> was his chief. He figures in a single record of Madhusudana, dated A.D. 1259 at Pentrala.<sup>120</sup> Vijayaditya's son was Tripurantakadeva. Tripurantaka must have been a more powerful chief than his father, as he finds mentioned in all the records of Madhusudana. Madhusudana Tripurantaka has been identified with Tripurantaka, minister of Chola Tikka<sup>121</sup> who has been rightly identified with Manuma sittarasan Tirukalattidevan<sup>122</sup> ie Tikka I (A.D. 1209-1248). Madhusudana, son of Tripurantaka was a feudatory of Vijayagandagopala.

Madhusudana's earliest record is from Takkolam, dated in the 3rd year of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>123</sup> His next inscription is from Pentrala dated A.D. 1260 mentioning him as Mahamandalesvara and a descendant of Mukkantikaduvetti and registering gifts for the increase of the kingdom of Mahamandalesvala Inumadigandagopalavijayadittadeva Maharaja. His Tiruvalangadu inscription<sup>124</sup> is dated in the 18th year of Vijayagandagopala. The next record is from Takkolam<sup>125</sup> dated in the 24th year of Vijayagandagopala. Madhusudana's inscription at Uttiramerur is dated in the 28th year of Vijayagandagopala. His last inscription<sup>126</sup> is from Tiruvannamalai, dated in the 36th

year of Kopperunjinga, mentioning him as the younger brother of Vijayandagopala, and his son Kakkunayaka, the donor.

### His Political Relations

1. *Madhusudana*—Madhusudana bore the common Pallava prasasti. As noted already, he is mentioned as the younger brother of Vijayagandagopala. And it has been suggested that he was a cousin, with brotherly relationship<sup>127</sup> because no records of Vijayagandagopala and Viragandagopala mention Tripurantaka as their father or Madhusudana as brother. Madhusudana, in his first record acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayagandagopala and also in the Uttiramerur inscription of the 28th year of Vijayagandagopala. His overlord at Pentrala in A.D. 1259 was Inumadi Gandagopala Vijayaditta.<sup>128</sup> Probably of the Pentrala Pallavas holding local sway and owing loyalty to Vijayagandagopala. Madhusudana's last record shows that his son Kakkunayaka was in the service of Kopperunjinga.<sup>129</sup> Nothing more is known of Kakkunayaka or his descendants. Madhusudana had some subordinates who figure in his Takolam records.

2 *Alloda Pemmayaadeva Maharaja*—Brahmayadeva or Allada Pemmayaadeva comes to light from his records at Tripurantakam and Vipparla and that of his subordinate at Mopur. Allada's earliest inscription<sup>130</sup> is from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1259. His next inscription<sup>131</sup> is from Vipparla dated A.D. 1264. His Mopur inscription<sup>132</sup> of A.D. 1311 mentions that Ahobalatha, son of Mahamandalesvara Chalukyanarayana Vengi Tribhuvanamalla, the lord of Ayodhya and a subordinate of Alloda, led an expedition into the Marjavadi country and died at Dharatirtha.

### His Political Relations

Allada's records range from A.D. 1259 to 1311. He is variously mentioned as Inumadi Basavasankara Allada Pemmayaadeva (Brahmaya deva) maharaja, Mahamandalesvara Allada Pemmayaadeva Maharajulu and as Alladanatha Potaraju Pemmayaadeva Maharaja in records. He bore the entire Pallava

Prasasti beginning with *anekamahimandala*<sup>133</sup> etc and his titles resemble those of Madhusudana. He was of the family of Mukkanti Kanduvetti and a devotee of Kamakotyambika.

Allada was a contemporary of Vijayagandagopala, Kopperunjinga and Ganapati, Rudrama and Prataparudra. It is likely that he owed allegiance to Vijayagandagopala. There is no clear evidence of Allada's subordination to Ganapati,<sup>134</sup> He does not seem to have come into conflict with Kopperunjinga. Probably, Allada set himself to have come into independent at Mopur after the reign of Vijayagandagopala.

3. *Nallasiddharasa*—Nallasiddharasa is of a family of the Telugu pallavas. The earliest member of this family is Mallasittarasan, figuring as a feudatory of Kulottunga III in his 26th year. Tipurasur (Tripurasura) and Tyagasamudrapattai Bhimarasan figure in the records of their descendant, Nallasiddharasa, the feudatory of Vijayagandagopala. The earliest of Nallasiddharasa's records is from Kalahasti<sup>135</sup> dated in the 7th year of Vijayagandagopala (A.D. 1257). His next two records are from Conjeevaram dated in the 16th and the 17th years of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>136</sup> Nallasiddha is mentioned as Tipurasur Nallasiddharasan in the Ambalur record of the 20th year of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>137</sup> His last record dated in the regnal years of Vijayagandagopala is from Conjeevaram dated in his 21st year.<sup>138</sup> An undated record of his is in Mannemutter.<sup>139</sup> (in Sulurpet taluq).

### His Political Relations

Nallasiddharasa bore the usual prasasti of the Telugu pallava. He was a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala for fifteen years, from the 7th to the 21st regnal year. He seems to have set himself independent afterwards as none of his later records is dated in the regnal years of Vijayagandagopala but his own. In a record of his 15th year from Conjeevaram. Nallasiddha renewed the grant of Kattanur to Viraraghava at Tiruppukkuli.<sup>140</sup> The identity of Nallasiddharasa of Sulurpet inscription with this Nallasiddharasa is probable.

4. *Tyagasamudrapattai Alutunai*—Apparasan-made a grant of Gandagopalamadai in Conjeevaram in the 9th year of Vijaya-

gandagopala.<sup>141</sup> He appears as Satyavalittunai Apparasar in a record from Gudur taluq dated in the reign of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>142</sup>

5. *Girakki Perumandideva*, a Telugu chola feudatory of Vijayagandagopala made a grant in the 21st year of his overlord. (A.D. 1271).<sup>143</sup>

6. In A.D. 1263 from an epigraph at Tripurantakam, *Karumanikka Perumandinayaka*, appears as a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>144</sup>

7. A sambuva raya of the family of Sengani Ammaiyappan and grandson of Sengeni Viragaram Ammaiyappan was in the service of Rajaraja III in his 29th and 31st years (A.D. 1245-1247). His full name is *Viraperumal Edtridisola Sambuvanarayan Alappirandonayan*, alias *Rajaraja Sambuvarayan*. As subordinate of Vijayagandagopala, he made gifts in the 5th, 8th and 18th years of his overlord.<sup>145</sup> He is mentioned as Pillaiyar i.e. feudatory of Vijayagandagopala.

8. A *Viracholan Sambuvaraya* figures in a record of the 16th year of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>146</sup>

9. *Panchanadivananilagaraiyan* and *Arunagiri peruma Nilagaraiyar* were in the service of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>147</sup> Later on they served Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I and Kopperunjinga.

10. *Devapperumal Malavarayan* figures in a record of the 7th year of Vijayagandagopala.<sup>148</sup>

11. *Rajendra chola Mummadi Vaidumba Maharaja* and *Devar Sola gangadeva* figure in the 2nd and 28th years of Vijayagandagopala respectively.<sup>149</sup>

12. *Tyagasamudrapattai Tikkarasar Visaiyadevan*, a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala, made gifts in the 29th year of his overlord.<sup>150</sup>

13 *Golapudi Kesinayaka* was a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala. His record from Chiramana dated A.D. 1285 gives him a prasasti some of titles being—buragandani talagenduganda and Badyamaharajasthapanacharya.<sup>151</sup> Badya is probably a Telugu Chola prince. Kesinayaka's two sons—Kamenayaka and Devinayaka made gifts to god at Chiramana in that year.

Lastly, the Kakatiya minister Brahmisetti and Viranarasimha of the Yadhavarayas were subordinates of Vijayagandagopala.

### **Vijayagandagopala and other Rulers**

Rajaraja III and Rajendra III were the Chola emperors in this period. Some of the feudatories of Vijayagandagopala e.g. Nallasiddharasa, Sambuvarayas etc were, prior to their coming under Vijayagandagopala, were in the service of the Chola emperors, as seen above. Vijayagandagopala does not seem to have come into conflict with the rulers in Vengi. Some of whom were—Ganapati and Bhimavallabha in Konamandala, Manmapota and Ganapati at Gudimetta, Ganapati, Bhima IV and his successors at Amaravati, Beta and Ganapama at Yendmandala, Bhima and Uttambhima in Ongerumarga, Rudra II and his successors at Madapalli, Ganapati at Maddur, Vijayaditya IV at pithapur, Mahadeva I at Vengi and Sarugadhara II, Singadeva and Madhava II at Addanki.

### **Viragandagopala A.D. 1290**

Viragandagopala, son of Vijayagandagopala ruled in Kanchi about A.D. 1290.<sup>152</sup> A record of his second year is from Tiruppukkuli and mentions his father Vijayagandagopala.

### **The Pallavas of Cuddapah**

The Telugu pallavas who ruled in parts of Cuddapah district in the 12th 13th and the 14th centuries were of the lineage of the Pallavas of Nellore. Probably they migrated, settled and founded principalities in the Cuddapah district. They had some significant political achievements to their credit.

### **Chiddanadeva Maharaja A.D. 1182**

The earliest Telugu pallava, so far known in this area was Chiddana deva Maharaja. Nothing about his antecedents is known. His only record is from Chintalaputtur.<sup>153</sup> near Pushpagiri dated A.D. 1182-83 registering his grant of lands in Koduru in Mulikinadu and gifts of his minister—mahapradhani.

Vararajanayaka, This Chiddana was ruling Milikinadu forming part of modern Proddutur taluq. Probably his capital was Proddutur. The prefix—chidpuli is to chiddana's name suggests his relationship to the Telugu pallavas of Nellore.

### His Political Relations

Chiddana appears as mahamandalesvara chidpuli chiddanadeva maharaja in his record. Some of his contemporary rulers were Kulottunga III of the Cholas, Gonka III of the Velanandus, Mallideva IV of the Telugu cholas of Pottapi, Kamana choda of Konidena cholas, Siddhi I of the Nellore cholas, Allutikka of the Nellore Pallavas, and Rudra I of the Kakatiyas. Chiddana seems to have ruled independently, as the authority of the Chalukyas ceased to prevail by this time.

### Khanderaya A.D. 1254

Between A.D. 1182 and A.D. 1254 no record of the Cud-dapah Pallavas are available, and consequently little is known about them. Khanderaja of the pallavas was of solar race and in 1254 established a Pallavesvara shrine at Pushapagiri and made gifts to Vaidyanatha temple.<sup>154</sup> He was a feudatory of Ahobalesvararaju, son of Allugiraju and lord of Mulikinadu alias Motatidesa. His queen Hachalamba was the daughter of king Allugi. His general senapati was Gandapendara Gangasenapati.<sup>155</sup>

Thus, Khanderaya himself, a feudatory of Ahbolesvara had a subordinate Gangasenapati—probably Gangayasahini, the Kayastha feudatory of the Kakatiyas. How long Khanderaya's rule lasted is not known. His contemporary on the Kakatiya throne was Ganapati, with whom he did not come into conflict. The relationship of Khanderaya to chiddana is not known. There intervened a gap of seventy years between the two rulers. Rajendra III of the Cholas, Nagadeva and Abhideva Mallideva of the Pallavas of Guntur and Nellore, Surngadharma II of the Yadhavas of Addanki and Manmasiddhi III and Allutikka of the Telugucholas were contemporaries of Khanderaya, though there survived no evidence of his contacts with them.

**Bhimadeva and Siddhyadeva1 A .D. 126**

Bhimadeva had the titles—lord of Kanchi, of Bharadvajagotra and Kadambaraya. His son was Brahmarakshasa Siddhayadeva Maharaja. The only date available for Bhima and Siddhaya is A.D. 1281.<sup>156</sup> Siddharthi. The relationship of Bhima to his predecessor Khanderaya is not known.

The regime to these Pallava king—Bhima and Siddhaya—was of some political importance. The Kakatiya kings at the time was Ganapati with whom Bhima and Siddhaya were on terms of alliance. Recorded tradition<sup>157</sup> says that Brahmarakshasa Siddhaya and his father marched at the head of a large army and halted at Somasila—20 milles east of Siddhavatam, when Jannigadeva Maharaja, the Kayasthas subordinates of the Kakatiyas joined them. They fought against the enemy—who is not mentioned and a victory was won by the Pallavas and Janniga. In this Bhimaya, father of Siddhaya lost his life for in A.D. 1261 Siddhaya set up a victory pillar at Pinnalur (Duvur taluq). An inscription records that he gave several varietties to Bhimayalingam, which was set up by Siddhaya in Janniga's reign, in the name of his father who died on the day of victory at Somasila.<sup>158</sup>

Probably the enemies vanquished in the battle were the Telugu cholas of Nellore—Manmasiddhi III and his sons Tikka II and Manmagandagopala. The date of the battle A.D. 1261—supports this, and it has been suggested<sup>159</sup> that probably Katamarajukatha alias Erragaddapatipatalata—in which a battle at Somasila is described has some connection with this battle. Perhaps Janniga of the Kayasthas and the Pallavas—Bhima and Siddhaya supported Katamaraju against his overlord Manmasiddha III alias Nallasiddha III and vanquished him

Bhima and Siddhaya seem to have recognised Kakatiya suzerainty under Rudrama. Some of the rulers in other kingdoms in this period were Ganapati and Bhima IV and Ganapama of the Kotas, Abhideva Mallideva and Vijayagandagopala of the Pallavas and so forth with whom, however. Bhima and Siddhaya do not seem to have come into conflict.

### Allada Pemmaya A.D. 1311

During his independent rule, after the close of the reign of Vijayagandagopala, to whom he was a feudatory as seen elsewhere, Allada Pemmaya achieved some important political victories. For his Mopur records of A.D. 1311 says that Ahobalanatha, son of Vengi Tribhuvanamalla, a subordinate of Allada led an expedition to Narjavadi country and died at Dharatirtha.<sup>160</sup> In this period—the beginning of the 14th Century A.D.—the Kakatiya king was Prataparudra. The Kayasthas under Ambadeva were almost independent power in the Cuddapah area, causing no end of trouble to the Kakatiyas. Their kingdom was extensive including Palnad in Guntur District. Allada Pemmaya defying the suzerainty of Ambadeva, brought on himself the wrath of the Kayasthas who must have invaded the Telugu Pallava territories. Allada send his armies under Ahobala to oppose the enemy at Dharatirtha. In the battle which followed Ahobala lost his life and the Pallavas lost the battle. As Ambadeva was victorious it is likely that after A.D. 1311, Allada had to recognise Kayastha supremacy. Allada Pemmaya seems to have been the last of the Pallavas who ruled over Mulikinadu—Cuddapah tracts.

### The Pallavas of Pentrala

This family of the Telugu pallavas who ruled over Pentrala had the prefix—Podakanuri added to the names of its members. The earliest member known so far is *Podakanuri Siddhiraja*, Siddhiraja and his grandson mahamandalesvara *Allada Siddhadeva* are heard of from the record, at Pentrala dated A.D. 1259.<sup>161</sup> Siddhideva bore the usual Pallava prasasti. He made gifts for the increase of kingdom the of Mahamandalesvara Bhajabalavira Manmasiddhayadeva chola Maharaja,<sup>162</sup> identical with Manmasiddhi III of the Telugu cholas of Nellore. Hence obviously Siddhadeva was a feudatory of the Telugu cholas.

*Siddhamadevula Vijayadeva*, son of ka.. .rajabhima-devamaharaja was another member of this pallavas family, The name of the father is lost partly in the record. In A.D. 1261 Vijayadeva made grants at Pentrala for the increase of the

kingdom of his suzerain—mahamandalesvara Bhujabalavira *Manmasiddhayadeva* maharaja<sup>163</sup> i.e. Manmasiddha III. Thus Vijayadeva was a subordinate of the Telugu cholas. None of his successors are heard of.

### Other Pallavas

Mahamandalesvara *Pallaketabhupala* and *Siddhayadeva maharaja* come to light from three records<sup>164</sup>—two at Bezvada and the third at Motupalla. They claim descent from Mukkani Kaduvetti. were of Bharadvaja gotra and entitled Pallava Kulatilaka. The relationship between Pallaketa and Siddhayadeva is not known, Pallaketa's record gives the legend about Madhavararama (s 117). Two of their records register grants for the merit of Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kakatiyas. Siddhayadeva, son of Mallideva was the governor of Motupalli, and bore the common Pallava prasasti. In A.D. 1231 he granted Aduru to Prasannekesava at Motupalli for the merit of his father and Ganapati of the Kakatiyas.

*Podakanur Siddharasa* and his son *Pallagundasiddharasar* lived in the 2nd quarter of the 14th century A.D. as subordinates of the Sambu varayas. An inscription of Pallagandasidha is at Takkolam dated in the 7th year of Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya.<sup>165</sup> He had an younger brother named Podakkam Ambaladeva Maharaja whose son was Obaladeva Maharaja. This Obala was a feudatory of Harihara II of Vijayanagar and issued a grant in A.D. 1403.<sup>166</sup>

From an inscription at Marella (Kanigiri taluq)—Pallava chief whose name is lost is heard of. He assumed all the Pallava titles including those indicating devotion to Tiruvergalanatha and lords of Kanchi and Tripurantaka. The date of the record is lost. A record at Gotlagattu<sup>167</sup>—incomplete and with no date gives the Palla prasasti—*anekamahimandala* etc. A record<sup>168</sup> at Chernipadu (Kandukur Taluq) incomplete and damaged—gives the Telugu pallava prasasti. Another record<sup>169</sup> there registers gifts by a Pallava prince with name lost to Sangamesvara mahadevi.

A Pallavaraya<sup>170</sup> made a grant in A.D. 1105—the 13th year of Uttama chola in Narayanavanam, which he received

from Nagadeva, the lord of Pottapinadu. In the 18th year of Virarajendrachola, Vijayagandagopala, son of Gandagopala Tirakalattideva, made gifts to Siddhesvara at Siddhratam. This is evident from a record at Mandapalle near Nandalur.<sup>171</sup> A record at Dhulipalla, dated A.D. 1915 mentions *Gunda*, grandson of ..Pallava with earlier part of the name lost and his wife Jayambika.<sup>172</sup> Their son was Some ie a sun to the pallava lineage ie Pallavanvayaditya. (His son) was Aditya and the kingdom of Aniyanka Bhima and Vengi are mentioned. A record at Velpur<sup>173</sup> mentions Naraya of Vaishyakula, as the lord of Pallavarasrayapattana.

Eruva pallavaraja is heard of from a coin discovered at Madur<sup>174</sup> (Kistna district). The family titles<sup>175</sup> of the Alaghucherla family mention that the Pallavas invaded the Eruva chief, the overlord of Alaghucherla chief and that the Alaghucherla chief routed him and captured the pallava regal insignia. For this service, the Eruva chief bestowed on the Alaghucherla chief many presents and the titles like Eruvaraja-sthathacharya—and permitted him to use the Pallava titles.

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## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

# The Dynasties in South Kalinga

Southern Kalinga in the medieval period consisted of many a small kingdom ruled over by many a local dynasty. Such were the Matsyas of Oddadi, the Gangas of Jantarnadu, the Pallavas of Virakuta, the Silas of Nandapura etc besides the chalukyas and the Haihayas dealt with already. All these dynasties had long leases of life and owed nominal or no allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors whose control over Trikalanga or the Kalingan empire was never effective in this period and was definitely on the downward move in the latter part the local dynasties grew stronger as the central power grew weaker. Kalinga especially South Kalinga—was the invading ground for the conquerors from the south, west and north—the Cholas, the Chalukyas and the Muslims respectively. The local dynasties, because of their geographical position were not seldom the targets of attacks by the invaders to whom they had to submit at times. Their political importance lay in that they either threw in their weight with the Gangas against the enemy or vice versa. Sometimes, the local rulers led expeditions of conquest and advanced as far as Draksharama in Vengi.<sup>1</sup> They even contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers in Vengi. This sounds natural for the names of some of the dynasties—for instance the Gangas, the Matsyas, the Chalukyas, the Konas and the Pallavas are exactly same as those of some of the major dynasties and subsidiary powers in

South—India—suggesting, obviously their southern origin. though it is not possible to see when and how they separated from the major dynasties migrated<sup>2</sup> and settled down in South Kalinga. The power of the local dynasties, declined with the establishment of the Gajapati dynasty and the kingdoms as such are not heard of after A.D. 1500. But in their place, we hear of a number of viceroyalties and governorships hereditary and otherwise in the Gajapati regime.

### **The Matsyas of Oddadi A.D. 1200-1470**

An important dynasty in South Kalinga, the Matsyas ruled over the Matyadesa i.e. Oddadivishaya with capital at Oddadi, 16 miles from Anakapalle in Vizagopatam district for a period of two and half centuries from about A.D. 1200 to 1470. Their ancestry goes back to the 5th century A.D. The Matsyas had their own crest seal and coinage and two Matsyas i.e. double fish was their emblem. They may have had some connection with the Pandyas whose emblem was also fish.<sup>3</sup> The Matsya kings were great warriors and had important military successes to their credit. They contracted alliance of marriage with the Pallavas of Virakuta, the Gangas of Jantarnadu etc. Occassionally, the Matsya expeditions reached Draksharama.

### **Political condition in South Kalinga at the end of the 12th Century**

The Ganga emperors in this period were—Anantavarman Chodaganga till A.D. 1148, his son Kamarnava (A.D. 1148-1158), his brother Raghava (A.D. 1156-1170) and Rajaraja II, the third son of Anantavarman (A.D. 1170-1190) his younger brother Anangabhima II or Aniyankabhima (A.D. 1190-1198) and Rajaraja III (A.D. 1198-1212). "With the accession of Rajaraja III a new era begins in Orissan history."<sup>4</sup> The rulers between Anantavarman and Rajaraja III were not powerful. Consequently the political atmosphere was conducive for the rise of new dynasties. And one such was the Matsya dynasty of Oddadi.

### Sources and origin

Inscriptions—all stone records except the Dibbida copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum<sup>5</sup> form the main source for the history of the Matsyas. References in the records of the Pallavas of Virakuta, Gangas of Janturnadu and the Reddis give some additional but important details.

### The Mythical ancestry of the Matsyas is as follows

From the navel lotus of Vishnu was born Brahma, from whom Atri was born. Atri's son was Kayapa in whose lineage was born sage Naranga. Naranga, one day while wandering in the sky saw river Matsya<sup>6</sup> which rises on Mukunda mountain, descended to its banks and was engaged in penance. To disturb him Indra sent Manjughosha who was transform into a fish by the curse of the sage. Their son was Satyamartanda Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, came to know of Satyamartanda, married his daughter Prabhavati to him and appointed him to rule over the Oddadi country.<sup>7</sup> Thus originated the Matsya kingdom of Oddadi. It is opined that the first rule of Matsya line ruled at the place Matsyakhuna in the vicinity of modern Kompagude (Kuphgudu) in Jeypore estate. The chronology of Satyamartanda is not known and is dependent on that of Jayatsena whose identity in kalingan history is not established.

After Satya martanda, a long line of Matsa rulers ruled over Oddadi. A Matsya family is mentioned in the Chipurupalle plates<sup>8</sup> of Vishnuvardhana I (A.D. 632) of the Eastern Chalukyas. Atavi durjaya of this family was the executor of the grant of Kalvaganda in Dimilishaya in Sarvasiddhi Taluq to two Brahmans. Chipurupalle is in Vizagapatam district. Probably Atavi durjaya was one of the successors of Satyamartanda, and served Vishnuvardhana. Or else he belonged to a collateral line of the Matsyas.

The names of the intermediaries between Satyamartanda and Ganga an younger brother of Bhima are not known. Vallabha was the son of Ganga and his son was Yudhamalla whose son was Gonaga. Gonaga's son was Bhima. Bhima's

son was Revana I. Revana's son was Kokkila, whose son was Gudda. Aditya was the son of Gudda, whose son was Kandi I. Kandi I had two sons—Gonanga II and Gudda II. Kandi II was the son of Gudda II Aditya was Arya who did not rule. Arya's son was King Paraganda. Paraganda had two sons - Gudda III and Bhima III. Bhima's son was Naranga, whose son was Mankaditya.

The details of the history of the Matsya kingdom during this period of seventeen generations from Bhima to Mankaditya is not known. The names Bhima, Vallabha, Yuddhamalla, Ganga, and Kokkila of kings seem to suggest their allegiance to the Eastern chalukyas, But the names of other kings—Ganga etc and the location of the kingdom perhaps show that the Matsyas must have ruled Oddadi as feudatories of the Gangas of Kalinga. We may note here, that the Kadambas in Kalinga<sup>9</sup> land lords of Panchavishaya alias Panchapatravishaya had also Matsya lanchana. Whether the Matsyas are related to them is not known. The statement that the Matsyas of Matsyadesa were closely connected with the Pandava race<sup>10</sup> is not supported by evidence but is a late origin of the Matsyas based on the names Arjuna - frequently borne by them from the 13th century onwards.

### **Mankaditya A.D. 1150**

All the predecessors of Mankaditya are referred to in a general way in a simhachalam record,<sup>11</sup> dated A.D. 1269 which says that in Minanvaya were born many victorious kings. Mankaditya is the first Matsya king finding mention in other records besides the Dibbida plates. A record at Draksharama<sup>12</sup> dated A.D. 1252 and the 36th year of Tribhuvana-chakravarti Rajadhirajadeva begins with Mankaditya of Matsyakula. Mankaditya may be placed about A.D. 1150 as the earliest date for his grandson Arjuna was A.D. 1252.

### **His Political Relations**

Kamarnava, Raghava, Rajaraja III and Ananga - Bhima II of the Gangas, Rajaraja II, Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III

of the Cholas, Gonka II, choda II and Gonka III of the Velanandus, Loka and Bhima of the Kona Haihayas, Somayanayaka of the Saranathas, Mallapa II and Vijayaditya III of the Chalukyas of Pithapur, Vijayaditya I of Elamanchilli Chalukyas, Vijayaditya I of Srikurmam chalukyas, Mahadeva of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole, Bayyaraja and Purushottama of the Pallavas of Virakuta, were contemporaneous with Mankaditya. Little is known about the events of the reign of Mankaditya.

### **Jayantaraju 1200 A.D.**

According to the Dibbida plates<sup>13</sup> Mankaditya had two sons - Bhima IV and Jayanta. For reasons not known to us, Jayanta succeeded his father, and not Bhima IV and similar precedents are not uncommon in Matsya history. Jayanta is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Oddadi Jayantaraju in the Draksharma epigraph<sup>14</sup> of Arjuna. He finds place in the Simhachalam record<sup>15</sup> of Arjuna, his son by queen Chingamambe Jayanta may have reigned about A.D 1200. He was more powerful than Mankaditya of his titles indicate.

Aniya Bhima II and his successors in Kalinga, Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III of the Cholas, Mallideva II and Bhima IV and Bhimavallabha and Ganapati of the Konahaihayas, Kesava of the Saranathas, Mallapa I of the Elamanchili chalukyas, Rajaraja I of the Srikurmam chalukyas, Bayyaraja of the Pallavas of Virakuta were ruling in this period. We have no evidence of Jayanta having come into contact with any of these powers.

### **Arjuna I A.D. 1252-1292**

The son and successor of Jayanta, Arjuna was the first Matsya king to have issued inscriptions. His earliest inscription<sup>16</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1252 and the 36th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajadhiraja registering the regrant of Sankubhimapuram in Alikattananti in Oddadi. The next record<sup>17</sup> also from Draksharama is dated A.D. 1253 and the 59th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajadhirajadeva In

A.D. 1269 Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam,<sup>18</sup> for the increase of his family fame and valour. Kula, Kirti and pratapa On the 6th April 1269 A.D. he granted Drubbidi named Jayantanarayana after his father to Brahmins.<sup>19</sup> The next record, dated A.D. 1281 is from Simhachalam,<sup>20</sup> mentioning his minister Srirangapreggada. In A.D. 1286 Annamaraju, the younger brother of Arjuna made grants at Simhachalam.<sup>21</sup> Arjuna's records<sup>22</sup> dated A.D. 1287 are at Draksharma and Simhachalam. In the latter, figures his minister Tallepreggada. In A.D. 1289, Oddadi Srirangavardhana alias Mankaditya Maharaja, the younger brother of Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam.<sup>23</sup> The last date for Arjuna is A.D. 1292, in which year he made grants at Simhachalam for the merit of his deceased younger brother Annamaraja entitled Gopalavardhana. In the same year, Jayanta<sup>24</sup> son of Arjuna by Lakshmidēvi, made donations at Simhachalam.

This series of inscriptions at Draksharama, Simhachalam and Drubbudi indicates the extent to which the Matsya arms under Arjuna reached. In extending and consolidating the kingdom, Arjuna came into contact with the Gangas, the Cholas and the minor dynasties in South Kalinga.

### His Political Relations

In his records Arjuna is mentioned as Arjunadeva, Matsyavamsadhbhava Srinarasimhavardhana. Oddavadi Arjuna dava Maharaja, Oddavadi Matsyakulatilaka Arjunadevaraju and Oddavadi Srinarasimhavardhana Arjunadevamaharaju. His epithet - aganda to the snakes i.e. enemy kings, attests his capacity in fighting. His son Jayanta bore the titles—Khanderaya and Dohattamalla.

### Arjuna and the Gangas

The Ganga emperors in this period were - Narasimha I (A.D. 1238-1264) his son Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264-1278) and his son Narasimha II (A.D. 1278-1305).

Arjuna did not acknowledge Ganga suzerainty in his records. Perhaps this suggests his independent attitude to-

wards the suzerain lord. But nevertheless he was not hostile to the Gangas, for a Simhachalam record<sup>25</sup> of A.D. 1274 mentions Anantajiyyana, a prince of the Matsyas of Oddadi the bearer of the title Gangavamsa Nidrohadvavala mandalika meaning - the governor who is pure by his non-treachery to the Ganga emperors.<sup>26</sup>

### Arjuna and the Cholas

The contemporary chola emperor was Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1279). Arjuna's inscription from Draksharama is dated in the 35th year of Rajadhiraja II and A.D. 1252. But the year A.D. 1252 corresponds to the 36th year of Rajaraja III and the 6th year of Rajendra III.<sup>27</sup> So the Chola emperor referred to in the Matsya record, Rajadhiraja, is an error for Rajaraja III whose records are available up to his 41st year i.e. A.D. 1257 though Rajendra III was the heir apparent and actual ruler from A.D. 1246. Probably on an expedition of conquest, Arjuna advanced as far as Draksharama and acknowledged there the suzerainty of the Cholas. One more of Arjuna's records is dated A.D. 1275 and the 59th year of Rajadhiraja. Calculating on the basis of the previous record, as the 36th year of Rajadhiraja is A.D. 1252, his 59th year rightly corresponds to A.D. 1275. But in this instance, Rajadhiraja does not refer to Rajaraja III whose records after his 41st year are not found.<sup>28</sup> Here Rajadhiraja is Rajendra III whose 29th year corresponds to A.D. 1275. Thus perhaps 59 is a mistake for 29 and the record proves the continuity of the Matsya loyalty to the Chola emperors and the prevalence of Chola supremacy in Vengi so late as A.D. 1275.

### Arjuna and other Kings

Mallideva II and Bhima IV, Bhima Vallabha and Ganapati in Konamandala, Choda I at Panchadharala, Mangaya deva and Yeragayadeva in Kolanu, Vijayaditya IV at Pithapur, Upendra I and Mallapal at Elamanchili, Rajaraja I, Vijayaditya II and Purushottama at Srikurmam, Narasimha and Gangaraja in Jataranadu, Bayyaraju, at Virakuta, were some of the contemporaries of Arjuna. In his southward expansion,

Arjuna must have come into contact with the Kona Haihayas, the Chalukyas of Pithapur etc. probably as a friend as there is no evidence of conflicts with them

Peda munnuti Prekati Virapanayaka, father-in-law of Arjuna<sup>29</sup> was a local chief in the Draksharama area. Prince Kumara Anantajiyana was governing Chikati in this period. His titles<sup>30</sup> are—Matsyakulatilaka, ripudarpamardana, Chalamartiganda, aruhutudimandalika, besides Gangavamsanidrohadhavalamandalika which is noted already. Probably Chikati constituted part of the Matsya kingdom in this period. Ananta, and the brothers of Arjuna—Mankaditya and Annama must have fought for the Matsyas in their wars against their enemies.

### **Jayanta II and Jayantikaraju A.D. 1292-1356**

Jayanta II was the son and successor of Arjuna. Jayantikaraju, son of Mankaditya was joint ruler with Jayapta II and both issued records simultaneously. In A.D. 1291, Jayantikaraju made grants at Simhachalama.<sup>31</sup> The next year—A.D. 1292. King Jayanta II made gifts at Simhachalam for the increase of his life, health and prosperity. In A.D. 1298 Jantikaraju made gifts at Simhachalam for the increase of his kingdom.<sup>32</sup> In A.D. 1337 and 1339 Jayanta made gifts at Simhachalam.<sup>33</sup> In A.D. 1346 and 1348, Chingamadevi, Queen of Jayanta and a subordinate of Jayanta, made grants at Simhachalam.<sup>34</sup> In A.D. 1349, Chingama, queen of Jayantikaraju made grants at Simhachalam for the prosperity of the kingdom of her husband.<sup>35</sup> An undated record at Simhachalam<sup>36</sup> mentions Bhimidevi queen of Jayanta. Though no records of Jayanta and Jayantika dated A.D. 1379 are available, their reign may have extended up to A.D. 1357. the earliest date for Arjuna, their successor. Chronology shows that Jayanta III, grandson of Jayanta II. according to one author,<sup>37</sup> is identical with Jayanta II.

### **Their Political Relations**

Jayanta II and Jayantika had a long reign of sixty four years. The kingdom in this period retained the same extent as

in the reign of Arjuna. Jayanta is mentioned as Oddavadi Srimanmahamandalesvara Jayantaraju, his father as Krishna-vardhana and Jayantika Virajayanta as in records. Probably Arjuna was crown prince in this period.

### **Jayanta and Jayantika and the Gangas**

The contemporary Ganga emperors were—Narasimha II (A.D. 1278-1305), Bhanudeva II (A.D. 1307-1328) Narasimha III (1328-1352) and Bhanudeva III (1353-1378). No doubt Jayanta II and Jayantika would have continued Matsya loyalty the Gangas, though no special references to that effect are available.

### **Jayanta and Jayantika and the Reddis**

The Reddi rulers in this period were Vema and Anapota of Kondavidu. The Matsyas came into conflict with the Reddis in defensive warfare. For Vema led expeditions of conquest into south Kalinga and Vanquished some of the local rulers by A.D. 1335—the date of his Chimakurti copper plate charter<sup>38</sup> registering these victories. Contemporary Reddi literature supports Vema's achievements in Kalinga. So the Matsyas along with the Gangas of Jantarnadu etc suffered a reverse in Reddi hands, though the Matsya records are silent about it.

Jayanta II and Jayantika probably maintained friendly relations with other local dynasties in south Kainga for instance, the Silas, the Pallavas, the Haihayas, the Gangas, the Chalukyas etc. All must have joined together to oppose the invader—the Reddis - though not with any success.

### **Arjuna II alias Virarjuna A.D. 1356-1399**

Son of Jayanta II, Arjuna succeeded him and Jayantikaraju, on the Matsya throne at Voddadi, Arjuna's earliest record dated A.D. 1357 is from Simhachalam registering gifts by his queen Kamaladevi. His next inscription from Simhachalam mentions Palakonda Karrijyana of Matsyakula making grants in A.D. 1359. Three records at Simhachalam dated A.D. 1364 record gifts by Arjuna and minister Oddadi Bhimanapre-

ggada. In A.D. 1365 and 1366, Bhimana made further gifts at Simhachalam. In A.D. 1369, King Arjuna provided for Arjunabhoga to the god at Simihachalam<sup>39</sup> Varadana preggada, minister of Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam<sup>40</sup> in A.D. 1375, 1376 and 1377. King Arjuna donated Anakapalle in the adhikara of Kalinga pariksha Dharmadesa Jiyana to the temple at Simhachalam in 1377 A.D.<sup>41</sup> His next record also from Simhachalam<sup>42</sup> is dated A.D. 1381. In A.D. 1383, minister Mallapreggada made grants at Simhachalam.<sup>43</sup> Arjuna's record of A.D. 1399 at Simhachalam mentions his son Prataparjuna and daughter Siriyamma.<sup>44</sup> The last of Arjuna's records is dated A.D. 1408,<sup>45</sup> which too mentions Prataparjuna. Probably Arjuna's rule ended in A.D. 1399, though he continued to issue records up to A.D. 1408. Inscriptions attest that Arjuna and Virarjuna are identical and as has been supposed<sup>46</sup> that the latter was the grandson of the former and son of Jayanta III.

### His Political Relations

Arjuna is mentioned as Oddavadi Arjunadevaraju of Matsyavamsa, and mandalesvara Virarjuna in records. The name Arjuna itself and the epithet Vira attached to it, perhaps indicate his capacities as a warrior. Arjuna does not seem to have come into conflict with the major powers in south India in this period.

### Arjuna and Kalinga

The contemporary Ganga emperors were—Bhanudeva III (A.D. 1353-1378) and Narasimha IV (A.D. 1378-1425). The political condition of Orissa in this period is as follows :-Sham-suddin ilias of Bengal raided Orissa in A.D. 1353. In A.D. 1356, prince Sangama, a nephew of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar claims to have defeated the Gajapatis. This is the earliest record of a war between the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar and Orissa."<sup>47</sup> Emperor Firoz Tughlak invaded Orissa during his second expedition into Bengal in A.D. 1360-1361.<sup>48</sup> In the reign of Narasimha IV, Muslim raids into Kalinga continued. Besides, in this period, south Kalinga was subjected to Reddi invasions under Kumaragiri and Katayavema. Arjuna is likely

to have helped the Gangas against the enemies in this period.

### **Arjuna and the Reddis**

The Reddi contemporaries of Arjuna were Anopota, Aravama, Kumaragiri and Pedakomativema at Kondavidu and Katayavema at Rajahmundry. Evidence on the Reddi side<sup>49</sup> shows that Katayavema, as general of Kumaragiri Reddi, led an expedition into kalinga about A.D. 1385 and vanquished the local dynasties in South Kalinga. Consequently it is very probable that Arjuna submitted to the Reddis in this period—during the later part of his reign. For inscriptions of Simhachalam show that the ministers of the Reddis made grants in the Oddadi kingdom in the reign of Anavama.

Arjuna's contemporaries in other kingdoms were—Kona Bhimavallabha in Kona mandala (A.D. 1318-1364) Choda II and Bhima at Panchadharala, Upendra III, Chennesa, Upendra IV, Upendra B, Chodaganga and Visvesvara at Elamanchili, Narasimha and Gangaraju in Jantarnadu, Narasimha at Virakuta and Visvanatha and Bhairava alias Bayya at Nandapura. Like his predecessors, Arjuna would have continued friendly relations with the local rulers in Kalinga. And as he did not lead any expeditions of conquest, he would not have come into conflict with the Haihayas of Konamandala, who also acknowledged Reddi suzerainty.

### **Arjuna III alias Prataparjuna A.D. 1399-1427**

Prataparjuna was the greatest of the Matsyas. A distinguished warrior he was more enterprising than his predecessors. Many records of his initial year are available. The earliest<sup>50</sup> is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1399 registering gifts by Surayapreggada, the pradhani of Oddadirajya. Two more records<sup>51</sup> of the year at Simhachalam mention gifts by Tirpani Chingama and birpari Katamasetti in Oddadirajya. Siriyamma, sister of Prataparjuna gave lands in Oddadi in A.D. 1399 to the god at Simhachalam. The next record<sup>52</sup> is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1407 mentioning Jantarnati Satyamahadevi. The Simhachalam record<sup>53</sup> of A.D. 1408 records the grant of the village Mangi by Prataparjuna. In A.D. 1412 he made further

grants at Simhachalam.<sup>54</sup> Annamaraju, son of Oddadi...vanamarajulu and Ovadevi, in A.D. 1415 made gifts at Simhachalam.<sup>55</sup> In A.D. 1416 Arjunaraju Ravutarayadu, son of Mankamadivi, daughter of Oddadi Arjuna made gifts.<sup>56</sup> This lady was evidently the daughter of Virarjuna and sister of Prataparjuna. Another record dated A.D. 1416 records grant of land in Oddadidesa by Satyamahadevi queen of Prataparjuna.<sup>57</sup> In A.D. 1420, 1421 Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam.<sup>58</sup> In A.D. 1421 after his return from the conquest of Jantarnadu, Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam.<sup>59</sup> A record of the Silavamsis of Nandapur dated A.D. 1427 at Simhachalam,<sup>60</sup> mentions Singaraju, son of Jayants of the Matsyas, the maternal uncle of Pratapa Gangaraju. Another record<sup>61</sup> at Srikurmam of A.D. 1427 mentions Singamadevi, daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas and wife of Visvesvara of the Silas. Arjuna's last date appears to be A.D. 1427.

### His Political Relations

Arjuna III is mentioned as Oddadi Prataparjunaraja, Prataparjunadevarajulu and mahamandalesvara Goddadi Prataparjunadevaraja in his records. The name Prataparjuna suggests his capacities as a warrior.

The contemporary Ganga rulers were—Narasimha IV and Bhanudeva IV. In the reign of these two weak kings, Ganga empire was an easy prey to the foreign invader. Probably Prataparjuna shook off allegiance to the Gangas completely.

### Prataparjuna and the Silavamsis

Two dynasties of Silavamsis were ruling at Virakuta and Nandapura. From records of this period, the marriage alliances between the Matsyas and the Silas are known. Pratapagangaraja of Silavamsa of Nandapura had a maternal uncle in Jayanta of the Matsyas whose son was Singaraju.<sup>62</sup> This Jayanta must be identified with Jayanta II, the grandfather of Prataparjuna. So Pratapa ganga's mother was the sister of Virarjuna and aunt of Prataparjuna. Again, Singamadevi, the queen of Visvesvara of Silavamsa of Virakuta was the daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas. Probably this Singama is identical

with the daughter of Jayanta II noted above where her name and that of her husband are not mentioned.

### **Prataparjuna and the Gangas of Jantarnadu**

Satyamahadevi, queen of Prataparjuna was a princess of the Ganga family of Jantarnadu. Prataparjuna led an expedition of conquest into Jantarnadu by A.D. 1421 and was victorious. The causes for this expedition are not known. The Ganga rulers in this period were Sangamaraju (A.D. 1398-1420) and Gangaraja (1420 A.D.) During the expedition, Arjuna, obviously Subordinated these rulers and perhaps captured Lakkavarapukota in Jantarnadu.

Princes Singaraju, Oddadi...vanamaharaju, Arjunamaraju Ravutarayadu and others and capable generals—some of whose names occur in records—Vidusenapati, Aladusenapati and the latter's son Rajanarendra, Erusenapati, Annisenapati, and Kurumayi and others must have manned the Matsya armies and contributed much to the success of Prataparjuna in his expeditions. Probably he came into conflict with the Reddis of Rajahmundry during the expeditions of the latter into Kalinga.

Choda III at Panchadharala, Visvesvara and Choda Ganga and Nagendra Chakravarti at Elamanchili, Saubhagya Deva at Virakuta, were contemporaneous with Prataparjuna. There is no evidence of Prataparjuna having come into contact with any of these rulers.

### **Pratapavallabharaja A.D. 1427-1467**

The relationship of Pratapavallabha to Prataparjuna is not known. Probably he was the son and successor of Arjuna III. Pratapavallabha's earliest record is from Juttada dated A.D. 1432. His next inscription is dated A.D. 1463. In A.D. 1465 the king made gifts for the increase of his kingdom etc. to the God at Simhachalam. In the same year, at Simhachalam Sri Vallabha of Oddadi made grants.<sup>63</sup> The next record is dated A.D. 1467 mentioning gifts by merchants for the prosperity of Pratapavallabha.<sup>64</sup> Some records of the reign give the cyclic year and not the Saka year. The Chodavaram inscription

dated—visvvasu—mentions Pratapavallabha.<sup>65</sup> Another record<sup>66</sup> there is dated Sobhakrit and mentions Vallayapadalu, a friend of the king. In Sarvari,<sup>67</sup> Vallayapadalu granted Annavaram to Vallabha at Juttada, in Vallabha's reign. The record<sup>68</sup> at Chodavaram dated Kalayukti mentions gifts made for Vallabha's merit.

### His Political Relations

Vallabha is mentioned in records as mahamandalesvara Pratapavallabharaja, Oddadi Pratapavallabhadevaraju, Srivallabharaju, Vallabharaja mahapatra, srivirapratapavallabharaja mahapatra and Kumara Traida Beharamahapatra. Srivira bhupatirayavirapratapa vallabharaja mahapatra. His Ganga contemporaries were - Bhanudeva IV (A.D. 1424-1434) and Kapilesvara Gajapati (A.D. 1434-1470). Kapilesvara subdued all the local dynasties in Kalinga and the Matsyas were no exception. For Pratapavallabha in his records added Mahapatra to his name, though did specifically mention his subordination to the Gajapatis. As mahapatra is a term suffixed to the names of the provincial governors under the Gajapatis, it is definite that the Matsyas lost their independence to the Gajapatis in the reign of Pratapavallabha—by A.D. 1435

Kumara Erramanayaka at Elamanchili, Vema reddy and Virabhadra reddy at Rajahmundry, Harihara II and Praudha devaraya at Vijayanagar were contemporaneous with Vallabha. Vallabha a great warrior did not come into conflict with Errama who also acknowledged Gajapati yoke Vallabha had to face the Reddy expedition into South Kalinga in A.D. 1434 and suffered a reverse and submitted to the invader. For Oddadi is included in the conquests of Alladevema Reddy in his Simhachalam inscriptions of A.D. 1435 along with Potnur and Kalavalapalle.

### Singaraja A.D. 1467-1471

Singaraja succeeded Pratapavallabha in A.D. 1467, to whom his relationship is not known. His earliest inscription<sup>69</sup> is from Arjunagiri (Viravalli taluq) dated A.D. 1470 mentioning him as the son of Mangaraja "Royal titles are accorded to these persons", Mackenzie Ms Copy of this record mentions that

Virapratapasingaraja,<sup>70</sup> son of Pratapa Rangadevaraja of Oddadi granted Arjunagiri to Varahanarayanavaibhagaraja temple for the merit of himself and the Matsyavamsa.<sup>71</sup> An undated inscription at Chodavaram<sup>72</sup> mentions Virapratapasingaraja, son of mahamandalesvara Pratapasrirangaraja of Oddadi.

### His Political Relations

Rangaraja, the father of Singaraja bore regal titles. But none of his records are available, and it is not clear whether he ruled the Matsya kingdom after Pratapavallabha and prior to Singaraja. Or probably the father and son ruled together from A.D. 1467 to 1471.

The contemporary Gajapati emperors were Kapilesvara and Purushottama (A.D. 1470-1497). There is no doubt about Matsya loyalty to the Gajapatis in this period.

### Other and Later Matsyas

A record at Chodavaram dated<sup>73</sup> A.D. 1391 mentions Virapratapasingaraju, son of Oddadi Prastapasingaraju. A mahamandalesvara Pratapavallabha made grants for the increase of his sovereignty and the prosperity of the Matsya chiefs in A.D. 1392 at Zuttada.<sup>74</sup> In the 3rd year of Bhimaraja of Matsyavamsa, some Settis made grants at Zuttada.<sup>75</sup> This Bhima's relationship to the main line of the Matsyas is not known, though recording of inscriptions in his regnal years speaks for his importance. In A.D. 1397 mahamandalesvara pratapalakshmanadevaraju is mentioned in the record at Chodavaram.<sup>76</sup> Mankaditya figures in three undated records<sup>77</sup> at Maddurti (Viravalli taluq). As has been suggested already, this Mankaditya is identical with Mankaditya, the younger brother of Arjuna of the Dibbida. c.p. grant from a record dated A.D. 1531-32 a Vallabharaja mahapatra<sup>78</sup> is heard of.

### End

The Matsya kingdom ended with Singaraja in A.D. 1471 and was replaced by the Pusapati and Madgole Zamindaries owing allegiance to the Gajapatis. The egiagraphist says "the small

estate of Veddadi (now connected with Modugula (Gazetteer: Visagapatam district p 319f) must have eventually passed into the hands of Pusapati kings of Vizianagram of whom Mitaramaraju Vijayaramaraju is stated to have been ruling the Machcha (Matsyas country) in s 1618 (A.D. 1736-37) and to have made on that occasion a gift of land for the maintenance of music in Kesavaswami temple at chodavaram (56 of 1912)."

The Madgole zamindars claim descent from the Matsyas of Oddadi and bear the title of chiefs (lords) of Oddadi. The family "claim descent from the sovereigns of Matsya desa, who were closely connected with the Pandava race." They are installed on a stone throne at Poderu, shaped like a fish, display a fish on their banners, use a figure of a fish as their signature and jealously protect from harm the masheer in the Matsya gundam (fish pool). Some of their dependents were earning shaped like fish. The zamindars of Guda call themselves lords of Oddadi.

### **The Pallavas of Virakuta A.D. 1100-1420**

A dynasty of the pallavas ruled in South Kalinga with capital at Virakuta or Viragottam for four centuries from the 11th to the 14th. These Pallavas, generally owed allegiance to the Cholas and the Eastern Gangas, except when they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The kings were warriors and led expeditions of conquest. Independent for all purposes, the Pallavas contracted alliances of marriage with the Silas, the Gangas of Jantarnadu etc. The prasasti which is imperialistic of these Pallavas, is in three forms. These Pallavas had their own coinage and Khatvanga on their banner.

### **Sources and Origin**

Inscriptions of the dynasty found mainly in the temples at Drakshrama, Simhachalama. Mukhalingam and Srikurmam, form the chief source. The records of the Gangas of Jantarnadu give some references to the Pallavas of Virakuta.

The Prasasti of the kings shows their Pallava origin claiming descent from Trinayana Pallava and the moon. The relation-

ship of these Pallavas to the Pallavas of the south, and the time of their separation and settlement in Kalinga is not apparent. It may be surmised that when the Pallavas in the south were at the zenith, of their power, a collateral branch migrated to the southern Kalinga, established a kingdom and lived for centuries together of the Pallavas in the south ceased to exist. Unlike the records of the Matsyas of Oddadi, the records of these Pallavas do not give a mythological origin of the dynasty. Neither the relationship of these pallavas to the Telugu Pallavas in Vengi is known from record.

### **Suraparaju A.D. 1112-1132**

King Surya or Suraparaju was the earliest known member of the dynasty. His only record is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1112 and the 43rd year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Kulottunga chodadeva bearing the Chalukya prasasti Sarvalokasraya etc. The king is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Biragottamuna Suraparaju and some of his titles are—Vrishabhalanchana, Khatvangaketana, Kanchipuresvara. Nambikulatilaka and Yuddhatrinetra. The records registers grants to Bhimesvara at Peddadakaremi in Ganga gondachodavalananti Guddavadinadu. Surapa's reign may have lasted till A.D. 1132, the earliest date for his successor Bayyaraju.

### **His Political Relations**

It is likely that Surapa was subdued by the Cholas during the first or second Kalingan wars. Consequently he acknowledged Chola suzerainty in his Draksharama inscription. The Ganga contemporary of Surapa was Anantavarman Choda ganga. Surapa must have maintained friendly relations with the petty kingdoms in south Kalinga eg. the Matsyas, the Silas, the Gangas, the chalukyas etc.

### **Bayyaraju A.D. 1132-1157**

Bayyaraju's relationship to his predecessor Suryaraja is not known. His earliest inscription<sup>79</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1132 and C.v 57 registering gifts by his queen Kommi-devi. His next inscription<sup>80</sup> is from Draksharama dated A.D.

1157 mentioning gifts by his queen Lakshmi. Another record<sup>81</sup> of the year at Draksharama mentions Gantiya Bayyaraju, the younger brother of the king. An undated inscription<sup>82</sup> at Draksharama mentions queen Kamma mahadevi and mahamandalesvara Biragatta muna Kandiya Bayyaraju, obviously identical with Gantiya Bayyaraju of the above record.

### His Political Relations

Bayyaraju is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Biragottamuna Bayyaraju. His titles—sahasrajuna, digvijayaditya, a Rudra in destroying enemies<sup>83</sup>—shows that he was a warrior. Bayyaraju's contemporaries on the Ganga throne were Anantavarmana and his successor. There are no signs of Bayya's allegiance to them.

### Bayyaraju and the chalukyas of Kalyani

In the latter part of Surapa's reign—after Kulottunga's death in A.D. 1118 and the earlier part of Bayya's reign the Virakuta Pallavas had to recognise chalukya sway under Vikramaditya VI and Somesvara III, along with other kingdoms in South Kalinga. Bayya's first record of A.D. 1132 is dated C.V. 57.<sup>84</sup> After that date, there appear no signs of Pallava loyalty to the Chalukyas which is in keeping with the fact that the Chola Suzerainty was restored in Vengi soon after by A.D. 1139.

### Bayya and the Cholas

None of Bayya's records are dated in the regnal years of the Chola emperors—Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II. Bayya's titles show that he must have fought some battles. This must have been on behalf of the Cholas against the Chalukyas.

Choda I and Gonka II of the Velananda Chodas, Rajendra Choda I, Bhima II and Satya I of the Kona Haihayas, Beta II and Keta I of the Kotas, Chodaraja and his successors of the Kondapadumatis, Surapa and Banta of the Malayas, Kataya and Somaya of the Saronathas, Vishnuvardhana and his successors of the Chalukyas, Vijayaditya I of Srikurmam were

contemporary with Bayyaraja. As all the records of Bayya are at Draksharama, he must have locally recognised the supremacy of the Velanandu chodas.

### **A.D. 1157-1187**

During the period of thirty years—after Bayyaraja till the beginning of the reign of Purushottama, no Pallava records are available.

### **Purushottama A.D. 1187-1226**

Mandalika Purushottama made gifts at Mukhalingam in A.D. 1157 and the 22nd year of Anantavarmodeva<sup>85</sup> of the Gangas. Probably he was a Pallava and his relationship to Bayyaraja is not known. Though none of Purushottama's later records are available, his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1226—the earliest date for Bayyaraju, his successor.

### **Bayyaraja A.D. 1226-1277**

Bayyaraja's connection with Purushottama is not known. His earliest<sup>86</sup> inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1226 recording the grant of Karuram in Prakkinadu by his queen Gangadevi, the daughter of Dasiredi Bhimi (Chami) nayaka and Singama. A record of A.D. 1277 at Srikrumam mentions gold coins of Biragottam.<sup>87</sup> These must have been Pallava coins and the ruler at the time was probably Bayyaraja.

### **His Political Relations**

Bayya is mentioned as Mahamandalsvara Viragotottamuna Bayyaraju in his Simhachalam inscription. Few details of events of Bayya's reign are known. This was the period of the decline of the Velanandu chodas and growth of the Telugu chodas and the Kakatiyas. Many a Kakatiya general led expeditions into South Kalinga in this period e.g. Padikama Boppadeva in A.D. 1260. But there is no evidence of the conflicts between these Pallavas and the invaders.

**A.D. 1277-1308**

During the interval of thirty years between the reigns of Bayyaraja and Purushottama no Pallavas are heard of. This is the second interrugnum in Pallava history, the first being from A.D. 1157 to 1187. The Ganga emperor in the period was Narasimha II. Jayantika of the Matsys were ruling at Voddendi.

**Purushottama A.D. 1308-1348**

Purushottama was the son of a valiant King whose name is lost in the record and Sriyadevi alias Srirangalakshmi. His earliest inscription<sup>88</sup> is at Simhachalam, dated A.D. 1308, registering gifts by the queen mother. The next record also from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1346 mention Annamanayaka of Biragotta son of Dhanapati Nayaka<sup>89</sup>. Annama must have been a subordinate of Purushottama. Purushottama's rule may have terminated in A.D. 1348 which is the earliest date for his successor.

**His Political Relations**

Purushottama would have maintained friendly relations with the local powers in Kalinga except the Chalukyas. For it is likely that Viragottam was invaded about A.D. 1346 by Chalukya Lakumaraja who probably took it and styled himself the King of Viragotta. For a Simhachalam record of A.D. 1346 mentions Sarvalakasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja alias Lakumaraja of Biragotta, son of Vinjamadeva and his queen Sriyadevi<sup>90</sup>. So Purushottama, no doubt opposed the Chalukya armies and suffered a reverse. Lakumaraja's sway at Virakuta was short lived for the records of Pallava Narasimha are available from A.D. 1348.

Probably Purushottama suffered a reverse in the hands of the Reddis of kendavidu, before A.D. 1335. The date of Chimakurti c.p. charter<sup>91</sup> of Prolaya Vama Reddi, speaking about his successes in Kalinga. The Ganga contemporaries of Purushottama were Bhanudeva II and Narasimha III, to whom his loyalty is not seen from records.

**Narasimha A.D. 1348-1400**

On his accession to the throne in A.D. 1348, Narasimha made grants at Simhachalam for the increase of his country, kingdom, fame and prosperity etc.<sup>92</sup> Gifts similar in nature and purpose as in the above record were made by the king in A.D. 1352. In a Simhachalam record<sup>93</sup> of A.D. 1356, Purushottama of Virakuta, a moon to the ocean i.e. Pallava Kula, and a destroyer of his enemies and his priya. Mandanarekha, figure, Narasimha, Purushottama and Lakumadevi, the queen of Narsimha are mentioned in an inscription at Srikurmam<sup>94</sup> dated A.D. 1357. Another of Narasimha's records is at Srikurmam<sup>95</sup> with date uncertain recording provision for a lamp in the temple by the king. None of Narasimha's records are found after A.D. 1357. Nevertheless his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1400 when he was succeeded by his son Sanbhagyadevaraju.

**His Political Relations**

Narasimha had a reign of fifty-two years. Purushottama was probably his eldest son associated in the governance of the kingdom during the first nine years by Narsimha. Bhanudeva III and Narasimha IV were the Ganga emperors in this period. Among other rulers were Choda II, Bhima and Choda III of the Haihayas of Panchadharala, Koppa, Upendra III, Chennasa, Upendra IV, Upendra V, Visvesvara and Choda Ganga of the Chalukyas of Elamanchili, Virarjuna or Arjuna II of the Mahkyas, Pratapaviragangaraju and Sangama of the Gangas of Jantarnadu, and Visvanatha and Bhairavaraju of the Silas of Nandapura. Anavema and Kumaragiri at Kondavidu, Kataya Vema and Allada at Rajahmundry were the Reddi contemporaries of Narasimha.

Narasimha did not lead any expeditions of conquest. But he had to face the Reddi armies under Katayavema, general of King Kumaragiri by A.D. 1390, for Katayavema claims to have conquered Viraghotta in his Kumaragirirajiya,<sup>96</sup> which, is attested by records<sup>97</sup> of the Reddis.

### **Saubhagyadeva A.D. 1400-1420**

Saubhagyadeva was the son of Purushottama and a brother of Narasimha. His succession presupposes the death of Purushottama, son of Narasimha or that his claims were overlooked. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1400 recording gifts for his merit. His record at Simhachalam dated A.D. 1420 refers to him as the son of Purushottama of Virakuta i.e. Viragotta. A record at Draksharama dated Krodhi-Jyashtha, with no Saka date records grant of land in Bikkavolu. Saubhagya's rule lasted for twenty years.

#### **His Political Relations**

Saubhagya is mentioned as Viragottapu Saubhagyadevaraja in his records. His prasasti is differently worded from that of his predecessors. Some of his titles are Pallavaditya, Pallava-trinetra, Trinayanapallava, Pattumgathariraya, Basavasankara Misaraganda and Somavamsodhbhava. Saubhagyadeva was a warrior. His Ganga contemporary was Narasimha IV and the Reddi contemporaries were Pedakomativema, Allada Vema and Virabhadra. Vijayanagar was under Harihara II and the Velamas were powerful and to the Sultans of Bahmany kingdom. Choda Ganga and Visvesvara and Nagendra deva Chakravarti of the Elamanihili Chalukyas, Prataparjuna or Arjuna III of the Matsyas, Sangama of Jantarnadu, and Bayyaraja and Gangaraja at Nandapura, were contemporaries of Saubhagyadeva. There is no evidence of Saubhagya's having come into conflict with any of these rulers.

#### **The End**

No sons and successors of Saubhagyadeva are heard of. And the Pallava territories must have come under Kapilesvara Gajapati, soon after the fall of the Ganga empire after Bhanudeva IV. It may be noted here that Sirigottam mentioned by Sewell is a mistake for Viragottam which becomes clear from a study of the Pallava records and Sewell's notice of them in his Antiquities.

### **The Gangas of Jantarnadu A.D. 1270-1460**

A Ganga dynasty ruled over Jantarnadu<sup>98</sup> for about two centuries from A.D. 1270 to 1461. These Gangas were one among the important dynasties in South Kalinga. Their kingdom Jantarnadu was not seldom the largest of many an invader—the Reddis, the Matsyas and so forth. The Gangas owed allegiance formally to the Imperial Gangas and contracted alliances of marriage with the Matsyas and the Silas.

#### **Sources and Origin**

All the records of the dynasty except one inscription at Boni are in Simhachalam. The records of the Gangas of Kalinga and the Matsyas give some reference to the Gangas of Jantarnadu, besides the literature and inscriptions of the Reddis.

The Gangas did not bear elaborate prasastis like the Matsyas and the Pallavas. Their records furnish few details regarding their ancestry and early history. The Gangas were of Surabhikula, Gatsamadagotra and Gangavamsa. The term Jantarnadu indicating the country of their rule is prefixed to the names of the kings of the dynasty.

No mythical ancestors of the Gangas are known. The early members of the dynasty are referred to in a general fashion in a single record which says that in Gangavamsa were born several kings.<sup>99</sup> No details about them available,

#### **Narasimha A.D. 1272-1285**

Narasimha is the earliest known ruler of the dynasty. His only record is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1272. In that year, his minister Sachiva Ganesvara Chamunatha, son of Somisvaranayaka, made grants for the increase of wealth, health, valour, fame etc of the king.<sup>100</sup> Probably Narasimha's reign lasted upto A.D. 1285, the earliest known date for his successor Gangaraju.

#### **His Political Relations**

Some of the rulers contemporary with Narasimha were Narasimha I, Bhanudeva I and Narasimha II of the Gangas,

Choda I of the Panchadhara, Haihayas, Mallapa II of Elamandchili Chalukyas, Arjuna I of the Maksyas, Bayyaraju of the Pallavas of Virakuta, and Rajaraja I and Vijayaditya II of the Chalukyas of Srikurmam. There are no signs of allegiance of Narasimha to the Ganges.

### Gangaraju A.D. 1285-1319

The relationship of Gangaraja to Narasimha is not known, probably he was the son. In A.D. 1285 Jantarnata Gangaraju made gifts at Simhachalam for the increase of his kingdom, Wealth and health<sup>101</sup>. Though none of his later records are available, his reign may have lasted up to A.D. 1319—the earliest date for the next Ganga king—Pratapa Gangaraju.

#### His Political Relations

Ganga raju bore the epithets—Surabhivamsodhbhava and Gatsamadagotra. There is no evidence of his having come into contact with either the Ganga emperors or the local rulers in southern Kalinga.

### Pratapa Gangaraju A.D. 1319-1368

Pratapagangaraju whose relationship to Gangaraja is not known became ruler in A.D. 1319. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1319 and the 13th year of Devadideva Srijagamnatha deva.<sup>102</sup> The Sanskrit portion of the record mentions the King Ganga and queen Lakshmi devi. His next record also from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1336 records gifts by Sumitradevi, the mother of Jantarnati Pratapa Gangaraju for the increase of Victory, kingdom, health and wealth of her son.<sup>103</sup> As in the previous record, the king is mentioned simply as King Ganga in the Sanskrit portion of the inscription. The next inscription<sup>104</sup> also from Simhachalam is dated A.D. 1368 mention the king as Jantarnati Pratapaviraganagaraja for the satisfaction of his own desires. So, Ganga-rajula reign lasted up to A.D. 1368.

### His Political Relations

Pratapa Ganga had a reign of fifty years. The Western Ganga emperor Bhanudeva II i.e. Jagannatha reigned from A.D. 1307 to 1328. Gangaraju's record dated in Jaganatha's regnal years shows his allegiance to the Ganga throne. The statement in the record that the queen of Gangaraju made the gift in charge (authority) of Sankaradesa mahasenapati<sup>105</sup> shows that the part of the Ganga Empire in which Jantarnadu was included was in the charge of Viceroy Sankaradasa, Pratapaganga's loyalty to the Ganga throne must have continued in the reigns of Narasimha III (1328-1353 A.D.) and Bhanudeva III (1352-1378).

Gangaraja must have come into conflict with the Reddis of Kondavidu in defensive warfare. For Prolaya Vema Reddi claims to have disturbed Jantarnadu by A.D. 1335 as the title Jantarnatarayahallakallola<sup>106</sup> indicates. Gangaraja suffered a reverse in the Reddi hands during the later's campaign in southera Kalinga about A.D. 1334.

### A King A.D. 1368-1398

The name of the successor of Pratapa Gangaraja is not known. His rule must have lasted till A.D. 1398—the earliest date for his successor, Sangamaraja. A record of A.D. 1387 mentions Jantarnati Satyamuhadevi making gifts for the satisfaction of her desires.<sup>107</sup> She was evidently the queen of Prataparjuna of the Matsyas of Oddadi.

In this period once again Jantarnadu, was subjected to the attacks of the Reddis under Katayavema, the general of king Kumaragiri about A.D. 1385<sup>108</sup>.

### Sangamaraju A.D. 1398-1420

The relationship of Sangama to his predecessors is not known. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1398 recording gifts for his own merit.<sup>109</sup> In A.D. 1399, Sangama made further grants at Simhachalama.<sup>110</sup> Though none of Sangama's records dated after A.D. 1399 are available his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1420—the earliest date for his successor Gangaraja.

### His Political Relations

Sangama is mentioned as Jantarnati Sangamarajulu in his records. He must have owed allegiance to Narasimha IV, the Ganga emperor. It is probable that Sangama was defeated by the Reddis of Rajahmundry who in this period led expeditions of conquest into southern Kalinga.

### Gangaraja A.D. 1420-1440

Gangaraja's relationship to Sangama is not known. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1420 recording gifts made for his own satisfaction.<sup>111</sup> The upper limit of his reign may be tentatively fixed as A.D. 1440—the probable date for the rule of his successors.

### His Political Relations

Gangaraja's contemporaries at Oddadi were Prataparjuna (A.D. 1399-1427) and Pratapavallabha (A.D. 1427-1467). As Prataparjuna claims to have conquered Jantarnadu by A.D. 1421<sup>112</sup> evidently Gangaraja suffered reverse in Matsya hands.

Chalukya Kumaraerranna at Elamanchili, Vema and Virabhadra of the Reddis of Rajahmundry, Bhanudeva IV of the Gangas and Kapilesvara of the Gajapatis, were contemporaneous with Gangaraju. In this period Vema and Virabhadra led expeditions into Kalinga and perhaps Jantarnadu was exempt from them.

### Singaraja and Pratapa Kurmaraja A.D. 1440-1461

The father and son—Singaraja and Pratapa Kurmaraja seem to have exercised joint sway for some time. The upper limit of the reign is A.D. 1461 and the lower limit may be placed about A.D. 1440. The earliest inscription is dated A.D. 1461 from Simhachalam<sup>113</sup>, registering gifts by Pratapa Kurmaraju, the son of Jantarnati Pratapa Singaraju. Another inscription<sup>114</sup> of the same year at Simhachalam mentions Jantarnati Pratapasingarajulu, General Periyandi Krishna Senapati is mentioned in the record.

### **Their Political Relations**

Singa and Pratapa Kurma, no doubt ruled at the subordinates of Kapilesvara.

### **Virasavaranatha**

From an undated inscription at Boni<sup>115</sup> Mahamandalesvara Vira Savaranatha of Jantarnadu, the lord of the City Arasuvada. born in the family of Surabhivamsa, and of the lineage of Durvasas is known. This Virasavara's place in the Ganga genealogy is not known. Nevertheless, it is clear from his record that the Gangas claimed descent from Durvasa and their capital was Arasuvada.

### **The End**

As by A.D. 1434, the imperial Gangas of Kalinga were supplanted by the Gajapatis, after Kurmaraja and Savaranatha, Jantanadu must have become a Gajapati viceroyalty. As we have been already, no connected geneology of these Gangas is possible because of the many gaps in their history. The Gangas must have been of the same stock as the imperial Gangas, who probably helped them in their troubles. The Gajapatis as a rule put an end to the semindependent local dynasties which were a menace to the Central power. This attitude of Kapilesvara was responsible for the fall of these dynasties with Ganga as no exception.

### **The Silas of Nandapura A.D. 1350-1430**

The Silas or Silavams is of Nandapura ruled for nearly a century from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 15th. Their capitals were Nandapura and Bobbili. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gangas of Kalinga. They contracted alliances of marriage with the Matsyas and the Pallavas. The Silas were the originators of the Jeypur estate.

### **Sources and Origin**

Inscriptions of the Silavamsis and the Matsyas

form the material for the history of the dynasty. Sila records do not shed any light on the origin of the dynasty except that they were of Silavamsa or Silavemsa gotra of Nandapura.

### **Ganga A.D. 1300-1353**

King Ganga is the earliest known member of the dynasty. None of his records are available, He is known from the inscriptions<sup>116</sup> of his son Visvanatha. He may be placed about A.D. 1300 as the earliest date for Visvanatha is A.D. 1353. The circumstances which enabled Ganga to found a dynasty are unknown.

### **Visvanatha A.D. 1353-1370**

The only inscription<sup>117</sup> of Visvanatha, the successor of Ganga is at Simhachalam, dated A.D. 1353. It mentions him as Visvanatharaja. the lord of Nandapura and of Silavamsa. Visvanatha's rule may have lasted till A.D. 1370, the earliest date for his successor Bhairavaraju.

Bhanudeva III of the Gangas, Choda II of the Haihayas, Upendra III and Upendra IV of the Chalukyas, Arjuna II of the Matsyas, Narasimha of the Pallavas, Pratapaganga of the Gangas (Of Jantarnadu), Anavema of the Reddis were contemporaneous with Visvanatha. There is no evidence of Visvanatha's loyalty to the Ganga emperor.

### **Bhairavaraju A.D. 1370-1427**

Probably Bhairavaraju was the son of Visvanatha. His earliest record is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1370 in which he is described as a great warrior and destroyer of enemies.<sup>118</sup> In that year his mother Akkamadevi made gifts for the victory of her son and satisfaction of her desires. The next inscription is from Simhachalam<sup>119</sup> dated A.D. 1396, recording gifts by Bachaladevi, the daughter of king Nandapurapu Bhaiyyaraju, None of Bhairava's records are available After A.D. 1396, nevertheless his reign may have extended upto A.D. 1437 —the earliest date for his successor Gangaraju.

### His Political Relations

Bhanudeva III and Narasimha IV were the Ganga emperors in this period, Bhima and Chola III of the Haihayas, Visveswara and Choda Ganga of the Chalukya, Arjuna II and Arjuna III of the Matsyas, Saubhagyadeva of the Pallavas, Sangamaraja of the Gangas, Kumaragiri and Pedakomativema, Kataya Vema Reddi and Allada of the Reddis were some of the rulers in this period. It is likely that Bhairava participated in the opposition of the rulers in South Kalinga to the Reddis about A.D. 1385 though not with any success. As Bhairava and Bayyaraju refer to one person, the statement<sup>120</sup> that the latter —Visvanatha purapu Bayyaraju (A.D. 1396) was the son of Bhairava raju (A.D. 1370) is wrong and the two records belong to a single ruler.

### Gangaraju A.D. 1427-1435

The earliest record of Gangaraju<sup>121</sup> is from Simhachalam dated A.D. 1427 mentioning king Gangaraju, son of Bhairava of Silavamsa. In the Telugu portion of the record, he is mentioned as Pratapa Gangarajungaru, the son of Bayyaraju of Nandapura and lord of Silavamsa. It registers the gifts of Singaraju, son of Jayanta of the Matsyas and maternal uncle of Gangaraju, for his own merit. Gangy's next record<sup>122</sup> is from Srikurmam dated A.D. 1435 recording his grant of Kakatapalli to Kurmesvara. Ganga's reign was short.

### His Political Relations

Unlike those of his predecessors the records of Gangaraja are at Srikurmam also. He possessed a good army and in A.D. 1427 gave lands in Bobbilidesa to the generals<sup>123</sup> Yerra, Tipiri and Kurumayi. A warrior, Ganga seems to have extended the kingdom for one of his records says that he washed his sword in the ocean.<sup>124</sup> It must have been that towards the close of his reign, about A.D. 1434 he led an expedition as far as the Bay of Bengal in the east, conquered some of the local rulers and thus extended his power in that direction. That his kingdom extended northwards beyond the hanguly.<sup>125</sup> falls to

ground for payorasi means ocean and not hangulya. He would not have done this independently for Bhanudeva IV, the last of the Gangas was followed by Kapilesvara in this period, who subdued all the local dynasties and the Silas were no exception. So as a feudatory of Kapilesvara, that Ganga with Gajapati support, must have achieved some victories over his enemies.

The Matsya contemporary of Gangaraja was Pratapavallabha the successor of Arjuna III. The Silas and the Matsyas were connected by alliances of marriages. For king Ganga's mother, and queen of Bhairava was the daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas and sister of Singaraju.<sup>126</sup> Probably the Silas were helped by the Matsyas in extending their kingdom.

#### **Visvesvara raju A.D. 1427**

Visvasvara's relationship to Gangaraju is not known. His inscription from Srikurmam<sup>127</sup> dated A.D. 1427 mentions him as Visvaraju and Visvesvararaju of Silavamsa and registers gifts by his queen Singamadevi, the daughter of Virajayanta of the Matsyas of Oddadi. The mention by the epigraphist<sup>128</sup> of Vatsaraju is a mistake for Visvaraju. Another record of the same year at Simhachalm<sup>129</sup> mentions Visvanatharaju of Nandapura and Silavamsa gotra and queen Singamadevi. Visvanatha and Singama are identical with Visvesvara and Singama of the above record.

#### **His Political Relations**

Probably Visvesvara ruled with Gangaraju. The upper limit for him is not known. As he was the son-in-law of Jayanta of the Matsyas, it is probable that the Silas and the Matsyas were on terms of alliance in this period.

#### **Later and other Silavamsis**

An undated inscription<sup>130</sup> at Draksharama mentions Nandapurapu Mallikarjunanayudu. An epigraph<sup>131</sup> on a boulder in the tank at Dibbagudemvalas near Bobbili in characters of the 14th century A D, mentions Silavamsa and the tank of Silapanedu. This shows that the rule of the Silas extended

upto Bobbili which is confirmed by references to Bobbilidesa in a Srikurmam record. The epigraphist says "The Silavamsa is not a well known historical family of these parts...very likely that the Silavamsa of the present epigraph from Bobbili is none other than the Silavamsa of the Srikurmam inscription or vice versa and it is also probable that Bobbili was the headquarters of this family in or about 15th century A.D.<sup>132</sup>"

### The End

Pratapa Gangaraju of the Silas had a daughter Singama. She was married to Khajjalabhanu alias Vinayaka deva, the founder of the kingdom of Gudari. On the death of Pratapa gangraja in A.D. 1443, the two kingdoms of Nandapur and Gudari near Gunupur were united under Vinayakadeva.<sup>133</sup> Vinayakadeva is said to have been of the Ganga family of Cuttack. Pratapaganga as he had no sons, must have nominated his son-in-law Vinayakadeva, as his successor. According to the Jeypur Chronicle,<sup>134</sup> Vinayakadeva was the 33rd descendant of Kanakasena of the Solar race. He was a general and feudatory of the king of Kashmir, left Kashmir for Benares, pleased Visvesvara by his penance and was directed by the God in a dream to go to the kingdom of the Silas of which he would become King. Vinayakadeva did accordingly, succeeded to the Jeypur throne and ruled from A.D. 1443 to 1476. His son Vijayachandra ruled from A.D. 1470 to 1510.<sup>135</sup> His successor Bhairava deva (1510-1540), according to Ganga Vamsam or charitha vanquished prataparudra Gujapati(1496-1540) while he was going from south to north and extorted an elephant the idols of Kanakasurya and Vallabhanarayana from him.<sup>136</sup> Padmanabhapur Yasovanta deva, the successor of Yasovanta deva. according to Gangavamsa charitra vanquished the Muslims who invaded Nandapura under the lead of Malika.<sup>137</sup> Probably this Malik is identical with Buiramalk a man Malk who in A.D. 1599 defeated Sarvaraju and other big chieftains at the battle at Chintapalle and killed them<sup>138</sup> Inscriptions of the period at Simhachalam and Srikurmam attest the devastation of the Hindu Kingdoms in Vizagapatam and Ganjum districts carried on by the Muslim enemies—the

occupation of Kotham etc. places by Ajvaravamingara in A.D.1609 by driving Bahubalesvra.<sup>139</sup> Thus about the middle of the 15th century A.D. Silavamsa got merged into the Jaypur dynasty of which Nandapura continued to be the capital. Nandapurabhupati is included in the Briadamli of the Jaypur rajas and was first borne by Ramachandradeva II and their kingdom was known as Nandapurarajya.<sup>140</sup>

### **The Eastern Gangas—A Collateral Branch at Narayanapuram A.D. 1117-1251**

A collateral branch of the Imperial Gangas of Kalinga ruled with capital at Narayanapura in Bobbili taluq (of Vizagapatam District) for nearly one and a half centuries from the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Many records of this line are at Narayanapuram. The Gangas maintained friendly relations with the Ganga emperors besides the local dynasties including the Rapeuti Chiefs.

#### **Origin and Rise**

Ulagaganda Permandideva, the founder of this Ganga line was an younger brother of Choda Ganga, the emperor of Kalinga.<sup>141</sup>

#### **Permandiraju A.D. 1117-1144**

The earliest record of the line is from Naryanapuram, dated A D. 1117.<sup>142</sup> It mentions Permadiraya, his wife and her father Aitaya. The next inscription also from Narayanapuram mentions Surama, queen of Permandi.<sup>143</sup> The last record<sup>144</sup> at Narayanapuram dated A.D. 1129 mentions gifts made by Rajendra Choda Deva, son of Padda Permadiraju. Another record<sup>145</sup> dated in the 67th year of Anantavarmadeva, at Naraynapuram, mentions. Perumandi, a servant of Srichodagangadeva. As has been suggested already,<sup>146</sup> Peddadeva-permadiraju is identical with Perumandi of the above record, he may have ruled till A D. 1144 as the 67th year of Anantavarma corresponds to Saka 1064 to A.D. 1144.<sup>147</sup> Perumandi, as attested by records, served Choda Ganga and Anantavarma of the Gangas of Kalinga.

**Rajendra Choda A.D. 1129-1139**

Rajendra Choda's records range from A.D. 1129 to 1139. His earliest record is from Narayanapuram registering his gifts to the Nilakantha Temple.<sup>148</sup> His next inscription dated A.D. 1139 is also from Narayanapuram.<sup>149</sup> Rajendra Choda is not heard of after A.D. 1139. No details of his reign are available. Probably he ruled with his father Perumandi. Probably Rajendra Choda was named after Rajendra-Kulottunga of the Cholas.

**Prolamaraju A.D. 1139-1145**

Prolamaraju's relationship to Rajendra Choda whom he seems to have succeeded in A.D. 1139. A record dated A.D. 1145 mentions that the daughter of Ammasatiraju, provided for a lamp for the merit of her husband Prolamaraju.<sup>150</sup>

**The Raperti Chiefs—Narayanapuram**

The Raperti family, known from records at Narayanapuram was subordinate to the Ganga emperors of Kalinga.

**Madaparaju A.D. 1100-1150**

Madaparaju was the earliest known member. None of his records are available, and he is known from the inscriptions of his sons.<sup>151</sup> He must have lived in the first half of the 12th century A.D. as the earliest date for his son is A.D. 1151.

**Suraparaju A.D. 1151**

A few of Surapa's records are known. The earliest inscription<sup>152</sup> is from Narayanapuram dated 1251 A.D.—obviously a mistake for 1151 A.D.—mentioning him as Raparti Suraparaju and his parents Madaparaju and Gundidevi. The next record<sup>153</sup> also from Narayanapuram, dated A.D. 1152 mentions Surapa's gifts in the name of his elder brother Jaitraraju. Besides, a person made gifts at Narayanapuram<sup>154</sup> in the year Vikridi— for the merit of Jai (y) intraraju, evidently, Jaitraraju of the

above record. The cyclic year corresponds to 1092 i.e. A.D. 1160.<sup>155</sup>

The brothers—Jaitra and Surapa were probably in the service of the Ganga emperors. Yet another record at Narayanapuram with saka date lost mentions a lady (name lost) who was the daughter of Kalvabhimaraju.<sup>156</sup> Probably Kalva Bhima was a subordinate of the Raparti brothers.

A branch of the Rapartis is heard of from inscriptions in the Godavari district. Its earliest member known so far is Raparti Munjaraju. He was Mahamandalesvara and his only inscription is from Draksharama dated A.D. 1134 registering gifts by his servant (bantu) dandanayaka Volama Betana.<sup>157</sup>

### Raparti Betaya

Betaya was the next prince of the family. One of his records at Draksharama bears no date<sup>158</sup> It mentions a vow of Betaya to Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja Konerimmayingondan Parantakadeva, taken in the presence of the deity. This shows that Beta owed allegiance to Kulottunga I

### Mangiraju A.D. 1263 and Upendra A.D. 1263-1289

Mangiraju and Upendradeva, father and son, ruled together for the first few years—from A.D. 1263 to 1266, and afterwards, Upendra ruled singly for Mangiraju was not heard of after A.D. 1266. The earliest record from Draksharama<sup>159</sup> dated A.D. 1263, mentions Aytasani, the queen of Raparti Upendra deva granting Visvanathapatnam to the deity. Upendra's parents—Raparti Mangaraju and Lakshmi devi are mentioned.<sup>160</sup> In A.D. 1266, Lakshmidēvi, queen of Raparti Mangiraju, at Simhachalam, granted Manapamu in Naharupakanandumgattu for the merit of their son Upendraraja.<sup>161</sup>

Though not mentioned in records, Mangi and Upendra, no doubt owed allegiance to the Ganga emperors. Upendra's rule lasted till A.D. 1289, the earliest date for his son Mangiraja II.

**Mangiraja II A.D. 1289**

Mangiraja II is heard from a few records at Draksharama. In A.D. 1289 and the 72nd year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Rajadhiraja deva. Mangiraja II made gifts to Bhimesvara at Draksharama.<sup>162</sup> Another record of his is also at Draksharama with saka date, half last and the 72nd year of Tribhuvanachakravarti (A.D. 1246-1279). But Rajendra's rule ended in A.D. 1279. He did not rule upto A.D. 1289 nor for 72 years. But A.D. 1289 and 72nd year corresponds to the 72nd year of Rajaraja III calculating from A.D. 1216—his initial year. The records just show the impress of the Chola rule in distant parts like Kalinga even after their empire had declined.

No sons and successors of Mangiraja are heard of. The Kaiyiyak<sup>163</sup> of Raparti says that a Gajapatiraja had two daughters one of whom was related to Bahubalendra Bhimaraja, who was a subordinate ruler over this tract for a long time. His descendant was Upendraraju who constructed a fortress here. He had two brothers—Pattabhiraju and Ramachandra-  
raju.

**The Chikati Chiefs (A.D. 1270-1345 A.D.)**

A feudatory family owing allegiance to the Eastern Gangas ruled over Chikati in the 13th and the 14th centuries. Their records are few.

The earliest ruler is Sri Kumara Anantajiyana—bearing the Matsya prasasti. He was the lord of Chikati and his only record is at Simhachalama dated A.D. 1274.<sup>164</sup> The next ruler is Prolujiyya entitled Jatikuvarumandalika, and lord of Chikati known from the record of his son Prolujiyyana dated A.D. 1290 and the 15th year of Pratapaviranarasimha.<sup>165</sup> Prolujiyya, the son must have been ruling from A.D. 1290. Thus the two Prolujiyyas—father and son—ruled Chikati about A.D. 1290 as subordinates of the Ganga emperor Narasimha II (A.D. 1275-1305).

### **Dharmaraju A.D. 1345**

The next ruler of Chikatis we hear of, is Dharmarajulu. There must have intervened a gap between Prolujiyya II and Dharmaraju. The only record of Dharmaraju is from Srikurmam dated A.D. 1345 and the 22nd year of Pratapavirarnarasimhadeva.<sup>166</sup> It records that his minister Sishtu Achyutayradhani—made gifts.

The emperor to whom Dharmaraja owed allegiance was Narasimha III<sup>167</sup> (1328-1352 A.D.). Being a contemporary of Prolayavema Reddi of Kondavidu, Dharmaraja, probably experienced the Reddi expedition into Kalinga by A.D. 1335. After Dharmaraju, no rulers of Chikati are heard of.

### **The Kondakamatis**

The Kondakamatis belonged to lunar race. They are known from inscriptions at Simhachalam.

### **Singa A.D. 1378-1381**

No predecessors of Singa are known. His earliest record<sup>168</sup> is from Simhachalam dated 1318 A.D.—mentioning that king Virasinga was born in Somanvaya and Atraya Gotra and that queen Ambika made gifts for the increase of the prosperity of her husband's kingdom. The Telugu portion mentions the king as Kondakammati Virasingaraju. Evidently Kondakamati is the tract of the country over which Singa ruled. His next inscription,<sup>169</sup> dated A.D. 1381, also at Simhachalam records gifts by Ambikadevi, queen of king Narasimha. Singa is also mentioned as Kondakamati Pratapa Chingaraju. He must have owned allegiance to the Eastern Ganga Emperors.

No successors of Pratapasinga are heard of.

### **The Chakragotta Chief**

A few records at Draksharama refers to Chakragottam, its rulers and ministers. In the record dated in the 17th year of Kulottungachodadeva,<sup>170</sup> Chakragottamuna Mallarani is mentioned. Ekkisetti, son of Chakragottamu Kamisetti is heard of in—Draksharama inscription of A.D. 1212 and the 4th year of

Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajadhiraja.<sup>171</sup> Here Rajadhiraja refers to Kulottunga III whose 34th year corresponds to A.D. 1212. In A.D. 1253 and the 28th year of Rajathiraja,<sup>172</sup> Chakragottapu pradhani Duggisetti, Madhavasetti and Somisetti made gifts to Bhimesvara for the merit of their parents. The date in this record corresponds to the 7th year of Rajendra III.<sup>173</sup>

### The Palakonda Chiefs

In the 14th century A.D., Palakonda was ruled by the princes of Matsya lineage. For Palakonda Karr!jiyana of Matsykula made gifts at Simbachalam in A.D. 1359.<sup>174</sup> In the 15th century A.D. a family of chiefs held sway over Palakonda. Palakonda Bodraju is heard of from two records of his son Sarvajnadeva at Srikurmam. In A.D. 1470 and the 7th year of Pratapavijaya Purushottamadeva.<sup>175</sup> Sarvajnadevandu, son of Palakonda Bodraju made gifts at Srikurmam. The next year in A.D. 1471 and the 7th year of Gajapati Purushottama, Sarvajnadevarajungaru, son of Bodraju in Palakonda kingdom made grants to Kurmesvara at Srikurmam.<sup>176</sup> The father and son were obviously ruled Palakonda as subordinates of the Gajapatis of Orissa, the contemporary being Purushottama. The prefix Pratapa Vijaya attests Purushottama's valour and probably was assumed after his victorious expeditoin into the south.

No sons or successors of Sarvajna at Palakonda are heard of.

### The Ponnoda Chiefs

King Ponnada Kesa, a great warrior and his nephew (sister's son) Kurmendra are mentioned in a record at Sarpavaram<sup>177</sup> dated A.D. 1502. The parents of Kurmendra were Udumayya and Erramba. The Telugu portion of the record mentions Kesa as Kesaya Mahapatra and Kurma as Kurmaya mahapatra. Devamahapatra was the elder brother of Kurmaya. Kesaya is compared with Dharmaraja and Arjuna. Kurmaya made grants for the merit of his parents and brother.

The Ponnada Chieftains are not heard of from any other records. A Ponnada Paddiraju wrote Pradyunna Charitra in Telugu. Whether he had any relationship to the above chiefs is not known.

### The Later Gajapatis

From records in the Telugu country, some Gajapati princes-mahapatras are heard of.

A prince of the Gajapati lineage was ruling at Kondavidu in A.D. 1455. A c.p. grant<sup>178</sup> gives his genealogy thus—Kapilesvara Gajapati of the Solar race resided at Cuttack on the Mahanadi, and was a worshipper of Jagannatha. One of his descendants was Chandradeva. Guhideva was the son of Chandradeva whose son was Ganadeva alias Rautaraya a devotee of Jagannatha. This Ganadeva was the Governor of Kondavidu. His record dated A.D. 1454 at Chintapallipadu mentions Ganadeva Rantaraya Mahapatrulu and the towns of Addanki, Vinikonda and Kondavidu.<sup>179</sup> In A.D. 1455, Ganadeva granted Chavali to Brahmins<sup>180</sup>. He is not heard of after A.D. 1455. Ganadeva vanquished the Muslims. As the Bahmany Sultan Allauddin (A.D. 1435-1457) was Ganadeva's contemporary, the Muslims refer to his armies.<sup>181</sup>

Ambiradeva was probably the successor of Ganadeva to the viceroyalty of Kondavidu. His only dated record<sup>182</sup> is of A.D. 1459 at Simhachalam, mentioning him as Hambirakumara Mahapatra. In an undated inscription<sup>183</sup> at Zakkampudi, of the time of Kapilesvara Gajapati, Ambiradevaraja figures as the donor of Zakkireddipalle to the gods—Papavinasadeva and Rudradeva. His Yenikapadu<sup>184</sup> inscription, also undated records his grant of village to the servants of the Rajanarayana temple at Bezvada. It mentions Ambira as Hambiradeva Mahapatra. He is mentioned as Kumara Hamura Patra in the Srisuilam inscription of Krishnaya. At the command of Kapilesvara Hamira conquered the southern region and washed his sword with blood in the southern ocean.<sup>185</sup> His son Naraharideva and Virabhadra, son of Prataparudra Gajapati, were among the Gajapati generals whom Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar captured alive at Kondavidu in A.D. 1515 as

attested by records.<sup>186</sup> Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra was the son of Ambiradeva. In the Mannur inscription,<sup>187</sup> Kapilesvara Kumara is said to have been previously the pariksha-(viceroy) of Kondavidu. His viceroyalty included also Kondapalle, Addanki, Vinukonda, Kadaividu, Trichinopoly, Chandragiri etc. Tirumala Rantaraya Mahapatra, an uncle of Prataparudra Gajapati was ruling at Udayagiri in A.D. 1514 whom Krishna-devaraya captured in that year.

Mogalrajadeva Mahapatra is known from two records at Malakavalur near Kondapalle. One of them<sup>188</sup> mentions him as the subordinate of Purushottama of the Gajapatis. The other record<sup>189</sup> also mentions Purushottama and gives the titles of Mogalraja—Samgrama magarajadhira (?) the pariksha of dandapada of Kadumadjiyya or dandajya—the meaning of which is not clear.

A record at Arjunagiri<sup>190</sup>—undated mentions Sadoda Behara Mahapatra, Mukundabhupati maharaja Mahapatra and records gifts for Muknudabboya and other services. Govindavira Mahapatra Mukunda, figuring as the feudatory of Kapilesvara in a record from Korukonda in Pelagandi,<sup>191</sup> with date 1443 A.D. is probably identical with Mukunda of the above inscription.

### Other feudatories in South Kalinga

Kilana Vivama Mahapatra and his son Mallaya Mahapatra figure in a record at Amaravati<sup>192</sup> dated A.D. 1294. Mallaya made grants at the instance of the Panchanammavaru between Kondapalle and Bezwads. A record at Simhachalam<sup>193</sup> dated A.D. 1379 mentions Ramana Mahapatra. Svapnesvara mahapatra and his son Sankarajiyana figure in a Simhachalam inscription<sup>194</sup> dated A.D. 1384. Chandana Mahapatra and Kundalesvara Mahapatra made grants at Simhachalam<sup>195</sup> in A.D. 1414 and 1455 respectively. Mallaya Mahapatra<sup>196</sup> is heard of from a record at Amaravati, dated A.D. 1494. Raghu-deva Narendra Mahapatra was the governor of Rajahmundry. A.D. 1458 in the reign of Kapilesvara as attested by a record at Tirupati.<sup>197</sup> Tirumaladeva Mahapatra and his father Sante-svara Kumara guruvu Mahapatra figure in a record at Guntur

dated A.D. 1495<sup>196</sup> Kesava Patra and Chandra Mahapatra were on the fort at Kondavidu in 1515 A.D. and captured alive by Krishnaroya.<sup>199</sup>

Tradition has it that a Kalinga Gangu ruled over Sajiana-gara or Sajjapura near Peddapur (E. Godavari District), that on his refusal to give audience to poet Vemulavada Bhima, was cursed by him, lost the kingdom to his enemies, and when the poet took mercy on him, acquired the kingdom by winning the enemies, and prospered. Further, according to tradition,<sup>200</sup> Kapilesyara had a son Vidyadhara Gajapati, who by his wife Bhavaniamma had two daughters. Muttiyalamma and Paidamma. Vidyadhara built Vidhyadharapura and the three ladies gave their names to Bhavanipuram. Muttiyalampadu, and Pardurpadu, (Bezvada taluq). Kapilesvarapuram (Nuzvid taluq) is after King Kapilesvara. The successors of Vidyadhara were—Hamvira, Langula, Purushottama and Prataparudra.

From three records<sup>201</sup> at Simhachalam, the Chiefs bearing the epithet Sahasamalla are heard of. In A.D. 1360, Dharmadasa Sahasamalla alias Dammayi Sahasa Mallandu, the Kalinga Pariksha, granted lands in Tadrangi Ghuvvula. In A.D. 1374, Krishnadasa Sahasmalla made gifts at Simhachalam for the merit of his wife, Annamarayuralu Krishna dasa's relationship to Dharmadasa is not known. In A.D. 1428 Dharmayi Sahasa malla, son of Baraki Chingu Sasumalla of Potnuruvidu made gifts for his own merit. Obviously this Dharmayi is same as Dharmadasa of the above record.

A record at Boni<sup>202</sup> mentions Sri Merumadhavaraya. Another record also at Bhogapuram (Boni) mentions Nommananayaka, the ruler of Bhogapura and a devotee of Jina.<sup>203</sup> Another undated inscription at Boni mentions a king, son of Narasimha and grandson of Bhima.<sup>204</sup>

Sriramadeva of Ravikula is solar race, and his son Harchandana are heard of from a Srikurmam inscription<sup>205</sup> of A.D. 1379 Viraparaju and his son Chinchalada Mullabhupati also of solar lineage are heard of from a record of A.D. 1495 at Panchadharala.<sup>206</sup> Malla's epithets were—Suryakulavamsodh-bhava and birudarkarudra.

Kamadeva Paggada, son of Markanda nayaka of Mulaghatika

family made grants to Nakaramu Madhukesvaradevi at Mukhalingam<sup>207</sup> in the 59th year of Anantavarma deva corresponding to s 1055 i.e. A.D. 1133.<sup>208</sup> We may note that the family name of Ketana, the author of Dasakurmaracharitra in Telugu was Mulaghatika.

Lakshuma Maharaju and his daughter figure in a record at Srikurmam dated in the 34th year of Viranarasimha<sup>209</sup> Here Narasimha is Narasimha III of the Gangas, whose 34th year corresponds to A.D. 1306. Lakumadevi and her father Ramadeva of the Ganga family in Kataka find mention in a Simhachalam inscription<sup>210</sup> of A.D. 1387. Thus Ramadeva was of Ganga lineage. Mahamandalesvara Singarapungota pratapa Annaparaya made grants to deities at Duttika in the cyclic year Prabhava, as mentioned in an inscription at Nattaramesvaram.<sup>211</sup>

Errapota, Lord of Chintada and his son Mantri Dugga are mentioned in an inscription at Sri Kurmam,<sup>212</sup> dated A.D. 1196. Yerusenapati his queen Umadevi, and Pupil Singadhara, figure in two records at Simhachalam.<sup>213</sup> Rajamartanda raju of Chingapuram (in Kalina) and his son Rayaparaju are mentioned in a record from Simhachalam<sup>214</sup> dated A.D. 1142.

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## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# The Yadavas

Contemporaneous with the Yadavas of Seunadesa and Devagiri, three dynasties of Yadava lineage ruled over small kingdoms in Andhra land with capitals at Addanki, Panagal and Alavulapadu, as feudatories of the Kakatiyas and the Telugu cholas. No direct relationship between the Yadavas of the Telugu and Maratha Countries is traceable, except in the case of the Yadavas of Panugal. The Yadavas of the Telugu country came into conflict with the contemporary powerful kingdoms in the north and south, achieved important military victories and thus distinguished themselves.

### The Yadavas of Addanki A D. 1150-1270

The Yadavas of Addanki also known as the Chakranaraynas after one of their titles prefixed to their names—ruled for a century from the middle of the 12th in a part of the Guntur district. Their Capital was Addanki in Ongole taluq which was to be later on the first Reddi Capital. The Yadavas were a powerful dynasty acknowledging Kakatiya supremacy and never aspired for independence. The dynasty consisted of six kings who were great warriors and had the Velanandu chodas, the Telugu chodas, the Yadavas of Nellore and Panugal as neighbours.

### Sources and Orig in

Inscriptions—all stone records except the c.p. charter of Sarngadhara,<sup>1</sup> form the main source for the history of the

dynasty. References in Kakatiya records and Telugu choda literature form the supplementary sources.

As for the origin, the records of the dynasty do not refer to their Yadava descent which is nevertheless borne out by the literature of the Telugu Cholas referring to them as the Maharashtras.<sup>2</sup> "The compilers of the Nellore inscriptions suggest that the family might be connected with the Seunas".<sup>3</sup> The similarity in the genealogies of these Yadavas and the Yadavas of Devagiri in the names of Singhana, Sarngapani or Krishna Kandhara, and Mahadeva, Chronology and names of ministers do not lead us to any specific conclusions with regard to the connection between the two dynasties. "Probably here (In these similarities) we have a coincidence."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps as has been suggested already,<sup>5</sup> some Yadavas migrated from the Maharastra and Sevuna countries to Addankisima and founded this Yadava line.

No mythical ancestors of these Yadavas are known. The e.p. charter giving their genealogy begins with invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishnu, traces the Kakatiya genealogy from Prola to Ganapati enumerates the achievements of Ganapati and then gives the Yadava genealogy.<sup>6</sup>

### Sarngadhara I 1150

Sarngadhara was the earliest known member of the dynasty. He is mentioned as Sanri Suravara<sup>7</sup> which is evidently a mistake for Sarngadhara. None of his records are available. He is known from the e.p. grant of his grandson Sarngadhara II. Approximately, Sarngadhara or Sarngapani may be placed in the latter half of the 12th century so as his son was ruling in A.D. 1208. Sarngadhara was of Salankayana gotra. Probably he was rewarded with the principality of Addanki for his services to Rudradeva of the Kakatiyas in his wars.

### Madhavadeva A.D. 1208-1247

Madhavadeva was the son and successor of Sarngadhara I. Mentioned as the ruler of Addanki, Madhava was the first king of the line to have issued records of his own. His earliest record<sup>8</sup> is from Manikasvaram (Ongole taluq), dated A.D. 1208

recording his grant of land in Kotikalapudi to the west of Gundlakamma, to Mandukesvara. His record<sup>9</sup> from Nagulappalapadu dated A.D. 1239 records his grants for the merit of Ganapatideva and his parents. Another record<sup>10</sup> of the same year and place records Madhava's gifts for the merit of Ganapatideva maharaja. Though no records of Madhava are found after A.D. 1239, his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1247—the earliest date for his sons

### **His Political Relations**

Madhava was known as Madhava Maharajulu and Madhavanayakudu in his records. His prasasti has the titles—Mahamandalesvara, ativishamahayarudhapraudha rekharevanta, parabalakritanta, Saranagataujra, mandalikaramandalijivaraksha, and chakranarayana.” Some of these epithets show that he was a distinguished warrior, horseman, and destroyer of enemies.

### **Madhava and the Kakatiyas**

The Kakatiya ruler in this period was Ganapatideva. As noted elsewhere, his conquest of the Velanandu country was accomplished soon after the death of Prithvisvara of the Velanandus is by about A.D. 1214 and not so late as A.D. 1228 as supposed by some writers.<sup>11</sup>

King Madhava in his first record of A.D. 1208 does not refer to Ganapati. Perhaps till Ganapati's conquest of Velanandu, he was de facto independent ruler, for the Velanandus were declining. But in his last records of A.D. 1239, Madhava mentions Ganapati as his suzerain. So the subjugation of Madhava and his Kingdom in Kammanadu which in its turn was followed by the conquest of Muliknadu, Pottapinadu, Renadu and Gandikota and the expedition into the South. But, we have no details of any battles between Madhava and the Kakatiyas at Addanki or elsewhere in the kingdom.

### **Madhava and Other Kings**

The Velanandu kingdom was under Prithvisvara, and his successors in this period. The Telugu chola kingdoms of

Konidena, Pottapi and Nellore were under Ballichoda, Opilisiddhi II and his successors, and Nallasiddha I, Errasiddha and Tikka I respectively. Pota II, Dora III and Ganapati of the Chagis, Kota II, Bhima III and Keta III of the Kotas, Kusumaraja and Bhima of the Parichchadis, Rudra I of the Natavadis, Odayaraja and Nagadeva, Allutikka, Viragandagopala and Abhideva Malideva of the Pallavas of Guntur and Nellore, were contemporary with Madhava. Though Madhava's titles show that he had some victories over his enemies, the enemies are not specified in his records.

### Sirgaladeva A.D. 1247-1253

Of the three sons of Madhava—Singala, Sarangapani and Gopaladeva, Singaladeva succeeded his father to the Yadava throne at Addanki. His earliest inscription<sup>12</sup> is from Yendluru (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1248 mentioning pradhani—mahamatya and Bahasaptariniyogadhipati. This premier whose name is not mentioned, bore a prasasti. The record from Chejarla (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1248 mentions Singaladeva and his mahapradhani Somaraju.<sup>13</sup> This and the next record dated A.D. 1250<sup>14</sup> from Ongole record gifts by Somaraju for the merit of the king. The last two records<sup>15</sup> of the reign are from Epandalur (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1253. One of them records that while Ganapatideva was ruling, some gifts were made for the merit of Singadeva Maharaja. The second inscription registers gifts by Mayidevapreggada, the mahapradhani and sarvadhikari for the prosperity of his overlord Addanki Singaladeva and himself. As has been suggested already<sup>16</sup> Mayideva must have succeeded Somaraja as the Premier of the Yadavas. As the records of Saragadhara, the brother and successor of Singala, appear from A.D. 1253, that year must have been the last of Singa's rule.

### His Political Relations

Singala's prasasti is identical with that of his father but for the new epithet—nissanka malla.<sup>17</sup> He is mentioned in his records as Mahamandalesvara chakranayayana Singaladeva

Maharaja, Singadeva and Addanki Singaladeva. This last form shows that his Capital was Addanki as in the previous reign. The title—Nissanka malla is here with-out fear also borne by the Kalachuris of Kalyani attests his capacities as a warrior.

### **Singaladeva and the Kakatiyas**

Compared to that of his father, the reign of Singaladeva was short. His Kakatiya contemporary was Ganapatideva. In the records of his early years, the overlord Ganapati is not mentioned. But Singaladeva's Chendalur inscription<sup>18</sup> of A.D. 1253 specifically mentions Ganapati as ruling and Singala as his samanta-subordinate. It is probable that Singala, towards the close of his reign suffered a reverse in Kakatiya hands. For about A.D. 1250, the Kakatiyas advanced into the Telugu chola kingdom with some success. On the whole, references to the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas are fewer in Singala's records than in Madhava's. Probably Singala consolidated his kingdom.

### **Singala and Other Rulers**

In this period the Chola empire was under Rajendra III. The Yadava Kingdom of Devagiri was under Sinchana (A.D. 1210-1247) and Krishna Kandhara (A.D. 1247-1260) and the Telugu chola Kingdom of Nellore under Manmasiddha III (A.D. 1248-1267) and Allutikka (A.D. 1248-1272) ruled from Kanchi. The kota kingdoms were under Immadi Ganapa, Beta and Ganapama. Bhima of the Parichchadis, Rudra II of the Natavadis, Nagadeva and Abhideva Mallideva and Viragandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas were contemporary with Singaladeva. We do not know whether Singala came into conflict with any of these rulers. The compilers of the Nellore inscriptions say "It is singular that one Singaladeva should have a prime minister and factotum called Mayideva peggada while the Sevuna Singhana deva has as his Chief Minister Mayideva Pandita,<sup>19</sup>

### **Sarugadbara II A.D. 1253-1267**

The second son of Madhava and successor of Singaladeva, Sarugadhara II was the most distinguished ruler of the dynasty.

His earliest inscription is from Nagalappalapadu dated A.D. 1253 (s 1175 Ananda) mentioning his parents, Madhava and Chudabavi and Ganapati deva and recording his gifts for their merit.<sup>20</sup> As for the date of the record, "The saka and cyclic years. differ by a year" and correspond to the year A.D. 1254.<sup>21</sup> Sarngadhara's Sarangapuram c.p. grant<sup>22</sup> records that in A.D. 1254 (s 1176 Ananda) the king summoned the Brahmins and granted Sarangapuram for the religious merit of his overlord. At the end of the record, the King is mentioned simply as Chakranarayana. His record from Koppolu<sup>23</sup> (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1254 records that Ehakranarayana bearing the usual prasasti granted land in Bhanthikolamu to the local gods for the merit of his parents Mada and Madamma in the presence of Mahapradhani and the feudatories. The name of the donor Sarngadhara or Sarngapani is lost in the record and his parents were Madhava and Madamma. The next record<sup>24</sup> is from Yendlurur dated s. 1174 Nala but as "Nala corresponds to s 1179 current", it gives the date A.D. 1256. It records while Mahamandalesvara Kakatiya Ganapatideva Maharaja was ruling, Sarngapani made gifts for the increase of his life, health and kingdom and his Mahapradhani Govindanayaka made gift for the merit of his deceased father Madhavarajulu. Sarngapani's records are not found after A.D. 1256 but his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1267 when his nephew Singadeva began issuing inscriptions.

### His Political Relations

Sarngadhara had a reign of fifteen years. His c.p. grant<sup>25</sup> mentions him as the ruler of men destroyer of enemies and honoured for his might. From his inscriptions, Sarngadhara is variously known as Sarngapanidevarasu, Sarngapani, Sarngapani devarajulu and Sarngadhara.

### Sarngadhara and the Kakatiyas

The contemporary Kakatiya rulers were Ganapati and Rudrama. Sarngadhara's records<sup>26</sup> at Nagulappalapadu and Yendluru dated A.D. 1254 and 1256 respectively attest his allegiance to Ganapati. Probably he assisted Ganapati, with

his armies in his southern expedition, to reinstate Manmasiddha III in his kingdom about A.D. 1257 or earlier. But none of Sarngadhara's records belonging to the reign of Rudrama are available and so there is no certainty of his allegiance to her.

### **Sarngadhara and the Telugu Cholas**

The Telugu Chola rulers in this period were Manmasiddha III and Tikka II at Nellore, and Allutikka at Kanchi. Sarngadhara and the Telugu Cholas fought each other and Sarngadhara suffered a defeat in the Telugu chola hands. Though the Yadava inscriptions are silent on the matter, the literature of the Telugu cholas bears testimony to this. For Ketana in Dasakumara charitra<sup>27</sup> says that king Tikka suppressed the pride of the subordinates of the Sevunas and Kataka, Bacha, son of Siddhana, a great warrior entitled Nannanigandhavarana is described to have approached the ocean of the terrible Sevunas like fire, drank it like Agastya, and dried it like Raghukshitinatha.<sup>28</sup> Tikkana in Nirvachanottara Ramayana says that king Manma, son of Tikka, in his wars with the enemy drove Saranga, the samanta of Maharashtra descent and captured his horse with no effort on his part. A.D. 1250 has been suggested<sup>29</sup> as the date for the decisive battle between the Yadavas and the Telugu cholas. Probably the battle came about as follows—In the beginning of his reign Manmasiddha III and his son Tikka Gandagopala i.e. Tikka II, or Tikka I towards the beginning of his reign and his son Manmasiddha i.e. Manmasiddha III invaded the territories of the Yadava kingdom towards the close of Singala's reign. Singala and Sarngadhara put up a strong opposition to the enemy, no doubt with the help of the Kakatiyas, their overlords. The Yadava prince, Sarngadhara was vanquished, but the Kakatiya support to the Yadavas must have been the cause of the result that no annexation of the territories could be effected by the Telugu cholas after their victory. Probably the Telugu Cholas concluded a treaty with the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas. Sarngadhara did not experience any trouble from the Telugu cholas in his reign, unless his defeat means that he led an expedition into the Telugu chola kingdom and suffered a reverse.

## **Sarngadhara and Other Rulers**

Ganapati, Bhima IV, Ganapama and Devaraju of the Kotas, Rudra II of the Nekaradis, Abhideva Mallideva and Vijayagandagopala of the Pallavas, Krishna Kandhara and Mahadeva (A.D. 1260-1271) of the Yadavas of Devagiri. Samrnapanideva of the Panugal Yadavas, Katamaraju of the yadavas of Alavulapadu, were some of the contemporaries of Sarngadhara. Probably he was on friendly relations with all the feudatory rulers in the Telugu land as all acknowledged Kakatiya suzerainty, the only exception being Vijayagandagopala.

A verse enumerating the rulers of Nellore mentions that after Manmagandagopala, Svarnadeva ruled brilliantly.<sup>30</sup> This Swarna may be identified with Sarngadhara, whose rule in the neighbourhood of Nellore was famous in this period

### **Singadeva A.D. 1268-1272**

Son of Singaladeva, and successor of Sarngadhara, Singadeva had a brief reign of five years. His only record<sup>31</sup> is from Alluru (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1268 recording his gifts to Kondavidu Kumarasvamideva of Ongole for his own merit. A record<sup>32</sup> at Bollapalle (Ongole talub), dated A.D. 1271 mentions Svayapanayaka, probably a subordinate of Singa.

### **His Political Relations**

Singadeva did not bear a prasasti. He is mentioned as Mahamandalesvara Katarayananta Singadeva Maharaja. Singayadeva Gadideva of the Telugu Cholas, with whom Addanki has sometimes been confused with,<sup>33</sup> was a subordinate of Rudra of the Kakatiyas and a contemporary of Singadeva of the Yadavas. Nothing is known about Singadeva's political relations with the Telugu Cholas,—Kakatiyas and others.

### **Madhava II A.D. 1272**

Madhava II was the son of Sarngadhara II and successor of Singa deva. His earliest record<sup>34</sup> is from Tammalur (Darsi taluq) dated A.D. 1272. It says that while Tribhuvanadhipati

Kakatiya Rudradeva Maharaja was ruling the kingdom of earth, Mallanadeviammangaru, the daughter of Gopaladeva, the paternal uncle of Madhavadevaraju, entitled mahamandalesvara, Chakranarayanan, and the governor of Addanki (Addankisthalasadhyakudu) installed Gopisvara after her father. His next inscription<sup>35</sup> is from Ongole dated A.D. 1273 mentioning him as Madhavadeva Maharaja. Another record<sup>36</sup> of the reign is that of Chameḍapapadu (Kandukur taluq) recording gifts by Gopalamaharajulu for the merit of his mother. The upper limit of Madhava's reign is not known.

### His Political Relations

Madhava bore the complete Yadava prasasti including the title—Nissankamalla. One writer<sup>37</sup> has taken the two Madhavas to be identical, which is however incorrect. Madhava's prasasti shows that he was a stronger ruler than his predecessor Singadeva. His capital was either Ongole or Tammalur, and not Addanki which was a provincial capital under Gopaladeva in this period unless Sadhyaka means a reconqueror. Madhava's allegiance to the Kakatiyas is attested by his records mentioning Rudradeva maharaja. Madhava had no trouble from the Telugu Chodas in this period.

### The later and Other Yadavas—Vaijegadeva Maharaja

This chief is known from a single record<sup>38</sup> at Ongole with date lost recording gifts for his merit to Vaijegesvaradeva at Ongole. Vaijega Maharaja was a Mahamandalesvara and Chekranarayana. His place in the genealogy of the Yadavas can not be fixed for want of data. Perhaps he was the son and successor of Madhava II and if so may be placed about A.D. 1280.

A record<sup>39</sup> at Yendluru mentions Jagadeva Maharaja. Two records<sup>40</sup> at Palemkota (Venkatagiri taluq) mention Bhujabala Boppayadeva Maharajulu alias Kalimili Bopparaju and his son Madiraju. It has been suggested that Bhujabala suggests a choda descent.<sup>41</sup> But as it is also one of the epithets borne by some of the Yadavas, it is likely that Boppaya and Madiraju were of Yadeva lineage. A record<sup>42</sup> from Ongole taluq—in

complete, defaced, and with date missing mentions kings—Singa, Bhava, and Ramachandra. Ramachandra by Telingama had five sons. It has been said that “These so called kings were apparently however only ministers and there is nothing clearly to connect them with the Sevunas.”<sup>43</sup>

**End**

Towards the close of the 13th century A.D. this branch of the Yadavas must have become extinct and the territories were incorporated either in the Telugu chola or Kakatiya Kingdoms.

### **The Yadvas of Panugal. 13th century A.D.**

This dynasty of the Yadavas rose into prominence as that of Addanki had declined. The relationship between the Panugal and Addanki Yadavas is not known. The Yadavas of Panugal were feudatories of the Kakatiyas and acquired some important military victories. The rulers were of enterprising nature and led expeditions of conquest. Their prasasti is entirely different from that of the Yadavas of Addanki. The dynasty declined with the fall of the Kakatiyas after Prataparudra.

### **Origin**

Unlike in the case of the Yadavas of Addanki, the origin is described elaborately in records. These Yadavas were of Vishnuvamsa, Yadavakula and lords of Dvaravatipura.<sup>44</sup> Their descent is thus—the great dynasty of the Yadavas was prosperous, valiant and munificent. The Yadavas were looked upon as Kshatriyas and honoured like them.<sup>45</sup> In this dynasty arose king Bhillamadeva, an Indra in wealth and prosperity. His son was king Singhanadeva who was famous and prosperous. His son by Tanudasamadevi was Samrnapanideva<sup>46</sup> i.e, Sarngapanideva. This genealogy corresponds with that of the later Yadavas or Yadavas, in some respects<sup>47</sup> and shows Samrnapani's direct descent from them. For Bhillama is identical with Bhillama of the Devagiri, Yadavas who ruled from A.D. 1187 to 1191. Jaituga of our record is Jaitrapala or Jaitugi of the Yadavas of Devagiri (A D. 1191-1210). Singhamadeva is

Singhana (A.D. 1210-1247). In the time of Singhama, the Yadava empire became "as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the proceeding dynasties"<sup>48</sup> Singhana bore imperialistic titles—Prithvivallabha and king of kings. Generally the Yadavas had the epithets—Vishnuvamsodhbbhava and Dvaravatipuravaradhisvara, "the supreme lord of Dvaravati, the best of cities."<sup>49</sup> According to their genealogy Singhana's son Jaitrapala or Jaitagi predeceased him and his sons Krishna Kandhara and Mahadeva ruled after Singhana from A.D. 1247 to 1260, and 1260 to 1271 respectively. According to our record. Singhana had a son Samrnapani <sup>50</sup> Probably Samrnapani was younger to Jaitunga, left Devagiri for Panugal, carved out a kingdom for himself there and ruled as a subordinate of the Kakatiyas.

### Samrnapanideva A.D. 1267

Samrnapani's only record is from his capital dated A.D. 1265 or 1267 according to the latest edition of the record.<sup>51</sup> It traces the Kakatiya genealogy upto Rudradeva Maharaja, son of Ganapati bearing a prasasti. Next it gives the Yadava lineage upto the donor i.e. Sarngapani through Singhana and records his grant of land to Chayasomanatha. There follows the Telugu portion of the inscription saying that while Kakatiya Manumarudradeva Maharajulu bearing a prasasti was ruling the earth. King Samrnapanideva, the lord of Panugal in that kingdom and the bearer of an elaborate prasasti in s 1189 Brabhava granted land to Cheya Samanatha. Sarngapani's rule lasted during the latter part of the 13th century A.D. and was confined to the neighbourhood of Panugal.

### His Political Relations

Sarngapani was a great warrior. His prasasti enumerates his several victories over his enemies. He must have led expeditions of conquest with the strength of the Kakatiya armies behind and defeated many a king. The titles—Samastabhuvanasrayaprithivallabha Maharajadhiraja paramesvara paramabhattacharaka<sup>52</sup> speak of the imperialistic nature of Sarangapani's prasasti. These titles are same as those of the

Chalukyas of Kalyani. The epithets — Vishnuvamsodhbbhava and Dvarapati puravaradhisvara<sup>53</sup> of Sarngapani attest his Yadava descent, where as apratimalla, and ahitarya urahsala<sup>54</sup> i.e, a spear in the heart of the enemy kings, testify of his valour.

### **Sarngapani and the Kakatiyas**

Sarngapani's Kakatiya contemporaries were Rudrama and probably also Prataparudra, His loyalty to the former is attested by his Panugal inscription. He ruled the kingdom of Panugal as the viceroy of Rudrama, so much to say that some of the Yadava princes of Devagiri were in the service of Rudrama in this period.<sup>55</sup> It has been said that "It is not clear why a Yadava prince took service under the Kakatiyas especially when his titles show that he must have been a worthy for of Kokalladeva, king of Virata, Jajalladeva, ruler of Kinidi, Bhoja, King of Gurjara country, king of Malava and Pandara Lakshmiddeva"<sup>56</sup> This and similar statement that "These Yadavas of Sevunavamsa and relative of Yadava of Devagiri before they came to Andhra had fights with the kings in the north"<sup>57</sup> seem to suggest that Sarangapani acquired these military victories before he took service under the Kakatiyas. But Sarngapani may have won some of these victories with help of Kakatiyas after he become the ruler of Panugal.

### **Sarngapani and the Yadavas**

The rulers of the Yadava Kingdom of Devagiri in this period were Krishna Kandhara, Mahadeva and Ramadeva or Ramachandra (1271-1309),<sup>58</sup> To identify Sarngadhara with Krishnakandhara<sup>59</sup> is wrong for the father of the former and grandfather of the latter was Singhamadeva. Krishna was a nephew of Sarngapani. We may note that Singhana, father, of Sarngapan, is identical with Singhana, father of Jaitugi; and Addanki Singaladeva is different from this Singhana.

### **Sarngapani's other Victories**

A title of Sarngapani is Udbhattovaritabhupati kokalladeva girindra vittalanoddandadipti mandala i.e. an Indra to the

mountains i.e. king of Varata<sup>60</sup> and Kokalledeva is Varata is Virata—modern Berar and Kokalla of the Kalachuris of Tripuri ruled from A.D. 875 to 925.<sup>61</sup> Sarngapani claims a victory over Jajalladeva and claims to have taken his kingdom as the title—Karighatasamghattanaprarajyarajya indicates. But Jajalladeva II of the Kalachuris of Tumndana ruled from A.D. 1120 to 1168.<sup>62</sup> Sarngapani claims a victory over the ruler of Kimidi, He is described as Adeagu in driving away the serpentine king Bhoja inhabiting the lofty abode of the inaccessible mountain forts. This Bhoja is probably Bhoja of Panhala.<sup>63</sup> Sarngapani claims a victory over the king of Gurjara as his title—gurjara-rayavarana i.e. a hook to restrain elephants i.e. king of gurjara country shows. Ghurjara corresponds to modern Gujarat. His title—Malaviyamanamardana i.e. one (who is) fierce with the great practice of crushing the pride of the king of Malava. His title gambhirachiraprachandapandara lakshmi deva vamsavali vanadahanadavanala i.e. a bonfire in burning the forest of the family of Pandaralakshmi deva<sup>64</sup> shows that he ended the race of that chief and his descendants. The epithet turushko-paplavamadinisamudharana i.e. one who is the boar incarnation in lifting the earth out of the Muhammadan deluge,<sup>65</sup> borne by Sarngapani, shows that he had some victory over the Muslims.

Almost all these victories were claimed by Yadava Singhana, the father of Sarngapani. Besides, none of the persons whom Sarngapani claims to have defeated were contemporary with him. So either Sarngapani claimed the victories of his father as his own and as prince perhaps participated in the campaigns of Singhana or achieved some successes over some rulers mentioned above whose identity is yet to be established, with the help of the Kakatiya armies.

**End**

No successors of Sarngapani ruled at Panugul, though the main line of the yadavas of Devagiri continued for four more generations under Mahadeva, Ramadeva, Sankara (1309-1312) and Harapala (A.D. 1318). In this period, the imperial Yadava rule extended into the Kurnool district where the records of Yadava Singhana entitled Yadavanarayana pratapa Chakravarti

how.<sup>66</sup> With the decline of the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas on account of Muslim invasions, the Panugal kingdom also declined.

### The Yadavas of Alavulapadu.

Besides the Yadavas of Addanki, the Yadavas of Alavulapadu and Erragaddapadu ruled within the precincts of the Nellore chola kingdom. The Yadavas of Alavulapadu are known from a long inscription at Gundlapalem dated A.D. 1258-1259. In tracing the genealogy, the record says that the Yadavas descended from the divine feet of Srivishnuyogamaya, lord of Madhurapura, Gopikavallbha of Dvarahapura and of the lineage of Puru.<sup>67</sup>

King valluraja was the ruler of Alavulapadu and Adidivati.<sup>68</sup> As the eras of Simhadraraja and Valluraja during Choda's time (195), Erapoluraja (82) are mentioned, probably Simhadri was the father of Valluraja after whom his eldest son Simhadriraja was named if not identical with the son. Erapolu is evidently identical with Alapolaraja whose relationship to Valluraja is not known. In Pratapa's time, Alapolaraja was the ruler of Padayerpa and Pinayerpa.

### Alapolu's Political Relations

Alapolu came into conflict with Manmasiddhi III of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore. He had herds of cattle at Dhenuvukonda. As there was no pasture in the Yerpas owing to the drought prevalent, Alapola and Padmanayadu emigrated to Pukinadu with their cows. On the condition of payment of pullari—the grazing tax to Siddhiraja, they entered the land and grazed their cattle. Gradually they proceeded towards Dhanakoti in the south, visited their ruler, brought the cows over the river and hills and encamped on the banks of the Penna.

King Nallasiddhi attacked their cattle. The Yadavas wandered in forests, left Nellore with their cattle and halted at Erragaddapadu. Nallasiddhi sent his ambassador to Erragaddapadu, to demand pullari from the Yadavas; but the Yadavas refused the payment of the tax and this refusal brought on

them the expedition led by Nallasiddhi-Vallaraja and his sons—Poluraja, Peddiraja and their sons, and other Yadavas fought Nallasiddhi in the battle at the junction of hingalakonda and Erragaddapadu in the presence of god Somesvara.<sup>69</sup>

The date of the battle was A.D. 1259. Nallesiddha is identical with Nallasiddha III alias Manmasiddha III (A.D. 1248—1267) and Siddhiraja of the Gundlapalem record is identical with Manmasiddha III. Sewell is wrong in placing Siddhiraja and the Yadavas in the 12th century A.D. As for the place of the battle, Yerraguddapadu is identical with the village of that name in Ongole taluk (Ongole District). So the opinion<sup>70</sup> of the compilers of the Nellore inscriptions that it is probably the place where the temple of Poleramma stands now just beyond Alavulapadu in Kanigiri taluk (Nellore District) where grazing question is acute even now, is off the mark.

### **Alapola and the Kakatiyas**

The Kakatiya ruler in this period was Ganapati—Pratapa in the Gundlapalem inscription<sup>71</sup> is a mistake for Ganapati. Probably Alapolu had the support of the Kakatiyas in opposing Manmasiddha III.

As for his successors, according to one version, Valluraja had five sons—Simhadiraja, Peddiraja, Yerramaraja, Nallanukaraja and Pularaja. And Simhadri's son was Kareoraraja, and Peddiraja's son was Katamaraja.

### **The Yadavas of Yerragaddapadu**

Katamaraju, also of Yadava Kshakriya lineage was the ruler of Yerragaddapadu. His relationship to the Yadavas of Alavulapadu—Valluraja and his sons is not known. None of his predecessors are heard of. Katamaraju is said to have ruled for thirtytwo years. Accepting that Pratapa in the Gundlapalem record is a mistake for Kakatiya Ganapati, Katamaraja's identity with Kantamaraju of Boswell's account may be accepted.

## His Political Relations

Tradition and literature<sup>72</sup> bear out that Katamaraja of Yerragaddapadu refused to pay grazing tax to Manmasiddhi III alias Nallasiddha III on the ground that he lost some calves in the fields of Manmasiddhi. Manmasiddhi would not let the beasts go and sent his armies under the lead of Ranatikkana alias Khadga Tikkana, the son of an elder uncle of Tikkana Somayaji. The royal forces were routed by Katamaraju and his forces. General Tikkana returned home, was insulted by his mother and wife for his cowardice, went back and was killed by the enemy. This battle between the Yadavas and the Telugu cholas took place at Somasila on the Penna, as general Tikka cites both as witnesses for his fight.

This battle evidently took place in Ganapati's reign and not in Prataparudra's as Manmasiddhi, contemporary of Ganapati, figures as the king in the battle. The battle is placed in A.D. 1263<sup>73</sup> and Manmasiddha along with Tikka is said to have lost his life in it. Even accepting the date of the battle as A.D. 1263 Manmasiddha did not lose life in that year, as his records attest his rule till A.D. 1267. Mackenzie Mss say that Katamaraju was the ruler of Amaravati and Yerragaddapadu and that the site of the battle was located in the vicinity of Amaravati.<sup>74</sup> But it is more probable that the battle was fought at Yerragaddapadu. The Katamarajukatha or Yerragaddapati poltata is the story of Katamaraju or battle of Yerragaddapadu was the theme of many popular ballads and one of Srinatha's works in the 14th century A.D. "The struggle narrated might be compared to that between the Dutch Boers and Capfres in the interior of Africa."<sup>75</sup> Probably the battles between Valluraja of Alavulapadu and Nallasiddhi, and Katamaraja of Yerragaddapadu and General Tikka were parts of the war between the Yadavas and the Telugu cholas of Nellore. So in fighting the Telugu cholas, Vallupaju and Katamaraju acted in union and won the enemy.

The statement<sup>76</sup> that Katamarayaka was a Padmanayaka, lord of Palnad and the identification of Ranatikkana with Padmanayadu, the elder brother of Brahmanayadu (A.D. 1182) are not justifiable on chronological grounds. No sons and successors of Katamaraju are heard of.

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## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# The Nagas

Many were the Naga dynasties that ruled in India of the medieval times. The Nagavamsis of Chakrakotya<sup>1</sup> in Bastar state Kawardha<sup>2</sup> in central provinces, and Yelburga in Nizam's dominions flourished in this period. As for in Andhra country, the Nagas were heard of in some part or other from about A.D. 1000 to 1500. Important among them were the Nagas in the Nellore tract, in Palnad, Tripurantakam and Vizagapatam area. All the Nagas in common claimed descent from Naga and lordship over Bhogavati and Apichchitra.

### Nagas in the 11th century A.D.

A family of the Nagas served the Chalukyas of Vengi in the 11th century A.D. Bhimabhupa and his son Chamraja were the feudatories of Vijayaditya VII (A.D. 1030—1034), brother of Rajaraja I. Chamaraja is spoken of as the ornament of Nagakula and the lord Meghagiri. Bhimaraja is entitled Malayabhaskara. Bhima and Chama assisted Vijayaditya VII in his rebellion against Rajaraja I and Bhima was bestowed with Kampolungu and twelve other small villages as a fief as reward for his services, by Vijayaditya at the time of his coronation. These facts are mentioned in the Pamulavaka inscription of Vijayaditya VII dated in his second year.<sup>3</sup>

It has been suggested that Bhima's title Malaya bhaskara indicates lordship over the hilly region of Vengidesa comprising the East Godavari and suzagapatam districts or more probably the latter.<sup>4</sup> But the title means Sun to the Malaya—identical

with Malayavani or Malayadesa ruled by the Malaya dynasty. Meghagiri is evidently a hill in the Malaya country, probably where the Naga capital was located, No descendants of Chamaraja are heard of. We may note that earlier still, Vijayaditya II of the Chalukyas came into conflict with a Naga Chief, who it has been said was probably a predecessor of the Nagavamsis of Bastar in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D.<sup>5</sup> Nagulurie, i.e. modern Maphaj Bandar, at the junction of the Nagavali and the ocean was formerly the capital of the Nagavamsis.<sup>6</sup>

### The Nagas of Darsi

A dynasty of the Nagas ruled in Nellore district with capital at Darsi in the 13th and the 14th centuries A.D. It consisted of ten generations of rulers who were warriors of merit.

### Sources and Origin

A few inscriptions from the source for the history of these Nagas. The Nagas claim to have been born in the lineage of Phanendra of Thousand rays and in Nagavamsa.<sup>7</sup> They claim to have been of lunar race, Vishnu lineage, Harika Gotra, and lords of Ayodhya and Bhagavati. An emblem of theirs was was snake—uraga.

### Early Kings

The name of the first king of the dynasty is lost. His son was Madhamaya whose son was Gonkaraju Gonka's son was Potaraju. His son was Vemula Malidevaraju. His son was Nunkaraju whose son was Asnadeva. These six predecessors of Arnadeva figure in the only record of Asnadeva.<sup>8</sup> We may note that the authors of the Nellore inscriptions in their translation<sup>9</sup> of the record attribute the prasasti of Asnadeva to Gonkaraja and say that Gonka's son by Sandhyadevi was Manabali devaraju whose son was Nagaraju whose son was Potaraju. But Sandhvadevi, Manabali and Naga do not find place in the text of the inscription. So Naga's suggested

identity with Nagadeva of other records<sup>10</sup> is impossible. All the predecessors of Asnadeva must have lived in the 12th, 13th and first part of the 14th century A.D. and served the Velanandu Chodas, Telugu chodas and the Kakatiyas as feudatories.

### Asnadevaraja A.D. 1385

Asnadeva was the greatest of the Nagas of Darsi. His only record<sup>11</sup> is from Darsi dated A.D. 1385. The date is not free from doubt for the compilers of the Nellore inscriptions say "The Saka and cyclic years differ widely and if we should read s 1357 (instead s. 1317) the date will be 1435-36"<sup>12</sup> It records Asnadeva's grant of villages and tanks in Nellore district for the merit of his grandfather, his son Numkaraju, Mahadu Vemula Malidevaraju, grandson of Manva Malidevaraju, his parents and himself. Some of the epithets in the long prasasti of Asnadeva attest his valour and speak of his victories. A record at Ravvavaram<sup>13</sup> dated A.D. 1392 gives a long genealogy as in the Darsi record and records gifts to the local goddess by a certain Annadevaraja of Darsi. It is not impossible that this Annadeva is identical with Asnadeva. If so, Asnadeva's rule must have lasted till A.D. 1392 or even afterwards.

### Political Conditions

By about the middle of the second part of the 14th century A.D., the political condition of South India and Vengi was in brief, as follows—Kalinga was under the Gangas, the Bahmany kingdom at Gulbarga was established, the Hoysalas and the Yadavas were replaced by the kingdom of Vijayanagar; and the Kakatiyas were succeeded by the Velamas and the Reddis.

### Asnadeva and Kalinga

Asnadeva claims to have planted pillars of victory in the mountains to the east of and west of Mahanadi. Obviously Asnadeva was not the ruler of a vast kingdom with such resources to have led expeditions of conquest from Nellore to Kalinga passing through the kingdoms of the Reddis etc. So it is likely that Asnadeva joined Vema in his Kalingan expedition by A.D. 1335,<sup>14</sup> advanced as far the Mahanadi along

with the Reddi armies and acquired some victories over the feudatory dynasties in south Kalinga. For one of his titles says that he was surrounded by enemies having many hosts of elephants.<sup>15</sup> This must refer to some campaign between the armies of the Nagas and the Gajapatis during the expedition.

Asnadeva may have come into conflict with the Bahmany, Vijayanagar and the Velama kingdoms, indirectly participating on the Reddi side in their wars against them.

### **Asnadeva and the Reddis**

The Reddi contemporaries of Asnadeva were Vema, Anapota, Anavema and Katayavema. As Asnadeva's territories formed an integral part of the Reddi kingdom. Asnadeva must have owed allegiance to the Reddis though he has not recorded it in his inscriptions.

### **Asnadeva's successors**

Nukkaraja was the son and Obalayya the grandson of Asnadeva. Their records are not available. They would have ruled the Darsi kingdom about the beginning of the 15th century A.D. with Obalayya, probably this line of the Nagas ended.

### **Nagas in Nellore A.D. 1150-1233**

A Naga family held sway in the Gudur taluq (Nellore district) in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. These Nagas owed allegiance to the Imperial Cholas. Their records all in Tamil—are from Gudur taluq especially from Mallam which was perhaps the Capital. They claimed lordship over Phanamandala, Madhyadesa and Ahichchatra. Four generations of these Nagas are known and we know little, about their political achievements.

### **Vattiyarasar or Sattiyarsar A.D. 1150**

Sattiyarasar is the earliest chief of the line known so far. None of his records are available. He is known from the only record<sup>16</sup> of his son and may be placed about A.D. 1150 as his

son's date is A.D. 1203-4. Sattiyarasar was of Akreya gotra, and had the prefix Rajarajapattai to his name. Accepting the explanation "the this word (pattai) must be taken to indicate subordination to the emperor whose name is used in conjunction with it,"<sup>17</sup> Sattiyarasar and his predecessor must have been subordinates of Kulottunga II, Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II.

#### **Peddarasar A.D. 1203-4**

Peddarasar is said to have been the lord of the best of cities. Ahischatra, the lord of the Phanamandala, and a devotee of Siva. His only record<sup>18</sup> is from Mallam dated in the 26th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Kulottunga Chola, the taker of Madura and the crowned head of Pondya. He granted lands in Inaiyur to Subrahmanya at Tiruvambur in Kilapattaiyanadu in Paiyurilamyttam, a subdivision of Jayangondachola-mandalam. Though none of Peddarasa's records dated after A.D. 1203-4 to which the 26th year corresponds are found, his rule may have lasted till A.D. 1213-14 the earliest date for his son Siddhavasa.

#### **His Political Relations**

In a record of his son, Peddarasa is mentioned as Mattimadesam Rajaraja pattai Pettarasan.<sup>19</sup> Matti madesam is Madnyadesa—the middle country which "it appears lay, north of the Vindhya."<sup>20</sup> Ahichchatra is Ramnagar where "Sinda the eponymous ancestor of the Sinda dynasty, a descendant of the serpent king was born."<sup>21</sup> And "the family bore the phanipataka, or Nagadhvaja which seems to be recalled by the statement in our records that the chiefs referred to there in were lords of Phanimandlam."<sup>22</sup>

The Chola emperor in this period was Kulottunga III. Peddarasa's allegiance to him is borne out by his records, the specification of the location of his kingdom and the prefix Rajaraja pattai to his name.

#### **Siddharasa A.D. 1213-14**

Rajaraja pattai Siddharasan was the son of Peddarasan. A record of his is from Gudur taluq dated in the 36th year<sup>23</sup> of

Tribhuvana chakravarti Tribhuvanaviradeva Kulottunga (III), Another record of his bearing the same date as the above and from Pandrangam near Reddipalem (Gudur taluq) mentions that Siddharasa married Irumadisriyadevi, the daughter of Uraiyyur Chola Sunslvar Kattadevar. Siddharasa had an older sister Pachchaladevi, the wife of M.F.C. Manumasiddharasar.

### **His Political Relations**

Siddharasa's allegiance to the Chola emperor Kulottunga is attested by his records. He contracted alliances of marriage with the Telugu cholas for his queen was a chola princess whose father Uraiyyurichola Suralvar Kittadevar was probably, as has been suggested already Vragraya mentioned in Panditaradhyacharitra.<sup>24</sup> His sister Pachivadevi was married to M.P.C. Manumasiddharasa identical with Manumasiddhi II alias Vallasiddhi II (A.D.1198-1210) of the Telugu cholas of Nellore. It is not improbable that this Pachoholadevi is identical with Bachaladevi in Pandituradhyacharitra.<sup>25</sup>

### **Siddharasa II A.D. 1233-34**

Siddharasa was the son of Kulottunga chalapattai Sakharadeva, who claims lordship over Ahischatrapura, middle country and Phana mandalam. His record at Mallam dated in the 18th year of Rajarajadeva records his gifts to Subrahmanaya in Tiruvambur situated in Okkattunadu in Kilaipattaiyanadu in Paiyarilangettam, a sub division of Jayangondacholamandalam.<sup>26</sup>

### **His Political Relations**

Siddharasa's allegiance to the Cholas is attested by his record. If Rajaraja is Rajaraja III,<sup>27</sup> the date of the record happens to be A.D. 1233-34. "It is not clear whether Kulotthnga Chelpattai Sekharadeva here is mentioned as the father of Siddhrasa is the same as Pattarasa of G 86."<sup>28</sup> Probably Sekhara and Siddharasa were later to Siddharasa of A.D. 1213-14 and ruled till A.D. 1233-34.

**End**

No successors of Siddharasa II are heard of. A Peddrasa of the Naga family is heard of from two records in Gudur taluq though he did not bear the characteristic Naga titles.<sup>29</sup> After the decline of the Nagas, their territories were incorporated in the Telugu Chola kingdom.

### **Nagadeva Maharaja A.D. 1273-1281**

Nagadeva Maharaja, a feudatory of the Kakatiyas was ruling in Nellore over the Nellore taluq and northern parts<sup>30</sup> of the Nellore district. "He probably belonged to the Naga family"<sup>31</sup> Nothing is known about his ancestry. Nagadeva's records are widely distributed in the Nellore district. The earliest is from Iduru (Nellore taluq) dated A.D. 1272. It mentions that Nagadeva Maharaja bearing many titles granted land in Angapalandanadu to Bhimanadeva of Vettuvana-pattaividu.<sup>32</sup> His next inscription is from Peddakonduru (Kavali taluq), dated A.D. 1273, and records grants made for the merit of Nagadevaraja and Rudradeva Maharaja.<sup>33</sup> The record at Peramana (Atmakur taluq) dated A.D. 1274 mentions that while Maharaja was ruling, his subordinate granted land for the merit of Nagadeva Maharaja.<sup>34</sup> Nagadeva's last record is from Manikesvaram (Ongole taluq) registering his gifts for the merit of Rudradeva Maharaja.<sup>35</sup>

### **His Political Relations**

Nagadeva is mentioned as Nagadevan of Nellore and mahamandlesvara Nagadeva Maharajulu in his records. He was a feudatory of Rudradeva of the Kakatiyas. The specification of the location of Tiruvambur in Nagadeva's inscriptions speaks for the continuance of the chola influence at the time. The statements<sup>36</sup> that in view of the wide distribution of his records probably he was a mere officer of the Kakatiyas than a local chief, and that he is probably identical with Nagaya Gama, general of Prataparudra, to whom Markandeyapurana was dedicated, cannot stand for Nagadeva, to whom Mahamandlesvara and maharaja and Nagayaganna means

Ganna, son of Nagaya and not Nagaya himself. Probably Nagadeva rebelled against the Kahatiya authority and lost his life, for one of the titles of the Viryala family is (one) who cut off the head of Nagadeva. It may have been that some ancestor of the family killed Nagadeva.<sup>37</sup>

### Kadiyaraju A.D. 1128

Kadiyaraja of the Naga race ruled in a part of the Guntur district with capital at Dharmapura. His prasasti is imperialistic and long. His only record is from Bapatla<sup>38</sup> dated A.D. 1128 and c.r. era 3, mentioning him as mahamandlesvara Kadiyaraja.

### His Political Relations

Kadiyaraja claims to have been the best among Bhujangkula. One of his titles is sakalaripumadana. Kadiyaraja was evidently a subordinate of the chola emperors. Kulottunga I and Vikramachola. For he styles himself a bee at the lotus-feet of Srivishnuvardhana<sup>39</sup> i.e. Kulottunga I. But by about A.D. 1128, Kadiyaraja acknowledged the Chalukya yoke under Vikramaditya IV and Somesvara III along with all other rulers in Vengi which is attested by his record dated in the year e.v. 3, obviously a mistake for the 53rd year corresponding to A.D. 1128.

A title of Kadiyaraya is Kadiyraybharana i.e. a jewell to Kadiyaraya. Here Kadiyaraya is either the family name or that of his father. Kadiyaraja claims to have destroyed Kiranapura as the title—Kranpuradalana<sup>40</sup> suggests.

### Semmangiraju A.D. 1207

Mahamandlesvara Nunganati Semmangiraju of Nagavamsa is known from a record at Bhimavarma dated A.D. 1207.<sup>41</sup> His son by queen Perakamahadevi was Manneru Sankyaraju. Sankyaraju is mentioned as vamsaniskataka i.e. expander of the family. In A.D. 1207 he granted Nadupuru in his fief in pottapinadu to Chalukya Bhimesvara at Kumarama for the merit of his parents.

Manneru is in Nellore district and probably Naganadu is tract on its banks. Probably Semmangiraju ruled there while his son went and settled in Pottapinadu and visited Bhimavaram on pilgrimage. These Nagas perhaps owed allegiance to the telugu cholas.

A Naga family of the 13th century A.D, is known from a record at Simhachlam. The record<sup>42</sup> says that the fame of the kings of Nagavamsa spread to the ends of the world. In that vamsa was born king Sankya. Sankya is mentioned as Sandyapudi Sankyaraju in the Telugu portion of the record, which thus shows that he is different from Manneru Sankyaraju. His queen was Jayamadevi. He may be placed in the first half of the 13th century A.D. as the date available for his son Gonkaraju is A.D. 1270.

King Goka is mentioned as the destroyer of the pride of enemy kings. In A.D. 1270 he made gift at Simhachalam for the merit of his mother.<sup>43</sup> No descendants of Goda are heard of.

#### **Gokabhupa A.D. 1543**

King Annbhumidharavara of the Naga race, the father of Goka of A.D. 1543 must have lived approximately about A.D. 1500 – His wife was Lakkamba.<sup>44</sup> Their son Gokabhupa, the ornament of the Naga race i.e. Phana Kulakilaka, in A.D. 1543 provided for lamps to Chalukya Parmesvara and Bhimesvara at Draksharama as seen from his record at Bhimavaram.<sup>45</sup>

#### **Chittapa Khana A.D. 1503**

A record<sup>46</sup> at Warangal dated A.D. 1503 says that Chittapakhana of Bhogikula reconquered Ekasilangara from the Muslims and reinstated Panchalaraya. Bhogikula is evidently Naga race.

#### **Other Nagas**

A record at Bhimavaram dated A.D. 1087 refers to a Mahamandalesvara of Nagavamsa.<sup>47</sup> Two records<sup>48</sup> at Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1292 and 1387 respectively record

gift by merchants of Virabalantya community. They bore a long list of titles claiming to belong to Manumakula and to have immigrated from Achichdutra—the capital of the Naga rulers to Tripurantakam area and settled there. An undated record at Boni (Vizagapatam district) mentions Nagakula.<sup>49</sup> A record at Conjeevaram<sup>50</sup> dated in the 20th year of Koppe-runjihgadeva registers gift of Nellore madai by Sevvakkan the sister-in-law of Annaladevan of Nellore. A record at Kambhampadu<sup>51</sup> (Palnad taluq) dated A.D. 1336 mentions Rayajivaraksha Samanka Gavare Annaladeva and his father Bhayideva. Probably he is a Naga.

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## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# The Banas

The Banas were never an independent power. They figure as the feudatories of important powers in South India from the middle of the 4th to the middle of the 16th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The territory of the Banas in inscriptions is mentioned as Perumbanappadi and the traditional capital was Parivipura or Parigi<sup>2</sup> (Hindupur taluq) of Anantapur district.

### Origin and early History

The Banas claimed descent from Mahabali—the demon and his son Bana. They served the Chalunyas, the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Pandyas. Originally the Bana kingdom extended as far as Kalahasti in the west i.e. the whole of modern North Arcot district to the north of Palar and it was known as Vadugavali Merku or Andhrapatham.<sup>3</sup> The Bana capitals were Gudimallam alias Vanapuram near Kalahasti and Nandagiri.<sup>4</sup> In the beginning of the 10th century A.D.—between A.D. 909 and 916 the Banas were conquered by Parantaka I of the Cholas and were thus deprived of their kingdom. The Banas in the medieval Andhra were ruling in parts of the districts of Nellore, Guntur and Anantapur. The Bana Viceroys of Madura appointed by the king of Vijayanagar ruled for a century from the middle of the 15th.

## The Banas in Nellore

At the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Bana family is found ruling in the north of the Nellore district. A single inscription at Sannamur—mentioned as Sranbaganuru in the text of the record in Podile division brings to light the Bana king Aggaparaju. The date of the record. S 890 (A.D. 968)—as tentative in Nellore inscription<sup>5</sup> is a mistake for s 945 (A.D. 1023) <sup>6</sup>

### Aggaparaju A.D. 1023

Nothing is known about the predecessors of Aggaparaju. Aggapa's long prasasti begins with svasti sakalajagatrayabhi-vandita etc. He claims ancestry to Mahabali and lordship over Parivipura and Nandagiri. In professor Sastri's words "Parivi and Nandagiri occupy in late Bana records, a position similar to that of Uraiyur and the Kaveri in the Telugu chola records"<sup>7</sup>

The rulers contemporaneous with Aggapa were Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014) and Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044) of the Cholas, Sakkivarman (999-1011 A.D.), Vimaladitya (A.D. 1011-1223) and Rajaraja of the Chalukyas of Vengi. As this was the period of the rise of many petty kingdom in Vengi owing allegiance to the Chalukyas, Aggapa too, must have ruled as a feudatory of Vimaladitya. None of Aggaparaju's successors are heard of.

## The Banas at Konidena

Churaballiraja I of the Banas was ruling locally about Konidena in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Nannichoda I of the Konidena cholas was contemporary with Churaballi. Churaballi's son also called Churaballiraja ruled about A.D. 1151.<sup>8</sup>

### Churabiraju II A.D. 1151

Churaballi II, a Mandalesvara, bore a long prasasti. His titles are similar to those of Aggaparaju, and mention his Bana descent. So, as has been suggested already,<sup>9</sup> this Churaballi

was probably a descendant of Aggaparaju. His only record from Konidena, dated A.D. 1151 mention him as mahamandale-svara Berbaha churaballi raju. His prasasti begins with sakala Surasuradhisvara etc. His epithets show that he was of Vasishtagotra and claimed lordship over Parivi and Nandagiri. The titles—Karmukarama, chita dhanamjaya, samaraikamar-tanda, ubhaya rayakatakamunnervachelvanegala gajadananaka, and Kirtijaganakavira speak for his capacities as a warrior.

### **His Political Relations**

The Chola emperors Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, Gonka II and choda II of the Velanandu chodas, Virakama I of the Haihayas, Dra I and Pota I of the Chagis, Manda IV and Buddha IV of the Kadapadumatis, Keta I and Bhima II of the Kotas, Naga and Bhima and Narayana, Viragandagopala and Vijayagandagopala of the Pallavas, Tribhuvanamalladeva and Nannichoda II of the Telugu Cholas were contemporaneous with Churaballi.

Churaballi no doubt owed allegiance to the Chola and their representatives and served them loyally as the epithet—Patihitabharana indicates and won some victories while fighting on their behalf.

No sons or successors of Churuballi II are heard of. A comparison of his titles with those of the earlier Banas at Tiruvallam “is enough to prove that Churaballiraja claimed to be descended from the ancient Banas.”<sup>10</sup> Churaballi ruled in a part of Kammanadu.

### **Other Banas**

Chittarasa, figuring in a record of A.D. 1122 in Anantapur district was perhaps of Bana lineage.<sup>11</sup> About A.D. 1250, a Bana chief lived in the Nellore area, and was vanquished by Jatavaraman Sundara Pandya during his northern campaign.<sup>12</sup> In the time of Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas—the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century A.D.—some Banas are heard of in the Telugu country. For Vidyanatha in his Prataparudra Yasobhushana

refers to the Banas.<sup>13</sup> Trivikramadeva, claiming descent from the Banas, flourished in the 15th century A.D. and wrote Trivikrama vritti a work on Prakrit grammar.<sup>14</sup> Several Banas were in the service of the Cholas and the Pandyas in the South. The last date for the Vijayanagar viceroys of Madura claiming Bana descent is A.D. 1546.

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## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

# The Vaidumbas

A Telugu family claiming descent from the western Gangas of early times, the Vaidumbas, at one time ruled in parts of North Arcot, Guddapah and Nellore districts and the country south of the Krishna. In the 9th century A.D. the Vaidumbas claim to have ruled over the Henadu. 7000. They sided the Banas against the Gangas and the Nolambas, in the battle at Soremati about A.D. 880. In the 10th century A.D. the Vaidumbas were more prominent. About A.D. 915, a Vaidumba chief was subdued by Darantaka I (907-953 A.D.) of the Cholas. He "must have been Sendayan Tiruvayan himself or his immediate predecessor." After this defeat "the Vaidumbas like the Banas sought refuge with the Rashtrakutas from the onslaught of the Cholas." The Vaidumba chief of the Tsandavole country, south of the Krishna, was a feudatory of Krishna III of the Rashtrakutas as seen from his inscription dated in the 24th year of Krishna III i.e. A.D. 960. Vaidumba Sandaya Tiruvayya Srikantha was a subordinate of Krishna III as seen from some records in the South Arcot District. After this date, the Vaidumbas appear again as the feudatories of the Cholas.

In A.D. 965 a Vaidumba princess was married to prince Arivijaya of the Cholas. In A.D. 973 in Renadu, a Vaidumbaraja entitled Bhuvanatrinetra was crowned. Threatened with danger from the Western Chalukyas, the Vaidumbas ruling over the country south of the Krishna submitted to the Chola emperor Rajaraja I. In A.D. 993 Mummadi Vaidumba Maharajan alias Vishnudevan alias Durai Araisan, made a gift to god at

Pantrangem, a hamlet of Reddipalem (Gudur taluq). The record is dated in the 8th year of Rajaraja I. By A.D. 995, Rajaraja subdued the Banas and the Vaidumbas. Consequently the indentification of Rajaraja with Rajaraja III, whose 8th year corresponds to A.D. 1224<sup>1</sup> is of no value.

In the 11th century A.D., the Vaidumbas in the Telugu land continued in the service of the Cholas. The Vaidumba chief, Tukkarai, the ruler of Ingallurnadu in Maharajapad.<sup>2</sup> comes to light from a record at Tiruvallam. Ingalur has been identified with Inganur near Kalahasti. In A.D. 1005 and the 20th year of Korajaraja raja Kesarivarman allias Rajarajadeva I, Nammamarayar, the son of Tukkarai gave an endowment at Tiruvallam. Thus the Vaidumbas under Rajaraja I, as under his predecessors after Paramtaka I, continued "to occupy subordinate official positions in the Chola administrative system."<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 1014-1015 we hear of Vaidumba Somanatha, son of Sankaradeva who was the second son of Sandaiyan Tiruvaiyan I and younger brother of Tiruvaiyana II and elder brother of Chandrasekhara<sup>4</sup> the Cholas." A Vaidumba figures in the list of rulers who opposed Virarajendra and whose heads were cut off by the chola—mentioned in the Manimangalam record of the 5th year of Rajendra chola, corresponding to A.D. 1086.<sup>5</sup> His identify is not known.

We do not come across any Vaidumbas in the 12th century A.D. in the Telugu country. But in the 13th century A.D., some Vaidumbas ruled in the southern part of the Nellore district as the feudatories of the Chola emperors, and later on the Telugu Pallavas. The earliest of this group of the Vaidumbas was Attamasiddhi Bhuvanekadhiran Pandiyagajakesari alias Rajabrahmachala Vaitumbana alias Vanam Maharajan alias Madanadevan alias Dasaiyarasan. In the 9th year of Rajaraja deva, Dasaiyarasan made gifts to Subrahmanya at Tiruvambur in Ckkattunadu in Kilaipattaiyanadu, in Paiyurilangottam, a sub-division of Jayangondachola mandalam. The record<sup>6</sup> is at Mallam and Rajaraja refers to Rajaraja III whose 9th year corresponds to A.D. 1225. The next Vaidumba chief is Vaitumba Maharaja Rajendra Chola Mummadi Vishnudevan Durai Arasan bearing many titles. His record at

Conjeevaram dated in the 10th year of Rajaraja III i.e. A.D. 1226, records his provision for lamp.<sup>7</sup> Vaidumba chieftain of the period was Rajendra Mummadi Vaidumba Maharajan who in the 2nd year of Vijayagandagopala (A.D. 1251-52) granted land in Ennayiraparaiyur Putteri for some festival as seen from a record<sup>8</sup> at Sulturpet. The relationship of this Rajendra to the above Vaidumba is not known. But as their names show, these three chiefs and the one of the reign of Rajaraja I were of the same lineage. Vijayagandagopala has been confused with Tirukkalattidevachola alias Gandagopala<sup>9</sup> of the Telugu cholas of Nellore.

No Vaidumba after A.D. 1251, are heard of in the Telugu country. A record at Conjeevaram "mentions the Ganga family, one Potaraya, Chola Bhima and Vaidumba"<sup>10</sup> Vinayamahadevi, queen of Kamarnava VI and mother of Vajrahastu III, was a Vaidumba prince.<sup>11</sup>

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## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

# The Saluvas

In the 14th and the 15th centuries A.D. several petty dynasties of the Saluvas were ruling in different parts of South India-towards the end of which period the Saluva Narasimha usurped the Vijayanagar throne and thus founded the Saluva dynasty. Three Saluva dynasties ruled in the districts of Nellore, Guntur and Chittoor, besides the Saluva princes governing Srisailam, Anbil etc. Except in the case of the Saluvas in the Chittoor district, who were related to the main line of the Saluvas, the relationship of the Saluvas in the Telugu country to the main branch is not known. The epithets, Saluva, Kathari, Misaraganda were common to all the Saluvas. The Saluvas are well known for their political achievements and acts of charity.

### The Saluvas of Podila

The Saluvas ruled in the 15th century A.D. in the Podila division (Nellore district) with Capital at Podile. A few inscriptions and the Kaifiyat of Podile<sup>1</sup> from the sources for their history. The Saluvas are known as Samburayas and are frequently confused<sup>2</sup> in recorded tradition, epigraphy reports, and by previous writers with the Saluvas of Guntur—a branch more distinguished than this celebrated in Srinatha's verses.

### Origin and rise

The Saluvas were of Somavamsa and Atreyagotra.<sup>3</sup> The Dandakavile of Podilesima traces their genealogy thus—Salva

Kamparaja's son was Iyengaraju. His son was Kumara Mangaraju whose son was Purushottama. Purushottama's son was Chinakamparaju. His son was Sambhuraju whose son was Telugu rajudu. But from inscriptions, the earliest member known so far is Rajavibhala Maharaju.

#### **Rajavibhala A.D. 1400**

None of Rajavibhala's records are available. He is known from a record of his son Semburaya.<sup>4</sup> He may be placed about A.D. 1400, as the earliest date for his son was A.D. 1426-1427.

#### **His Political Relations**

About A.D. 1400, other kings in the Telugu country were Harihara II of Vijayanagar, Kumaragiri of Kondavidu, Katayavema of Rajahmundry and Sarvajna Singama of Rachakonda. Rajavibhala did not come into contact with any of these rulers but must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Reddis of Kondavidu, as the tracts were included in the Reddi kingdom by this time.

#### **Pedasamburaya A.D. 1426**

Pedasambu's only records<sup>5</sup> is from Kuchapudi (Podile taluq) dated A.D. 1426 recording gifts to the local temple for the merit of his father. This Pedasambu is probably identical with Samburaja, son of China Kamparaju of the Dandakavile. If so Chinakampa is identical with Rajavibhala.

#### **His Political Relations**

Pedasamburaya bore the titles—Mahamandlesvara, Madinimisaraganda and Katherisaluva.<sup>6</sup> Pedakomabivema and Ruchavema at Kondavidu, Viradhadra and Vema at Rajahmundry, Devaraya II of Vijayanagar, Narasimha IV and Bhanudeva IV in Kalinga were contemporaneous with Pedasamburaya. As the Reddis were declining and the Gajapatis and Vijayanagar kings were fighting for control over the Telugu country probably Pedasambu was friendly with the Gajapatis, the Dandakaisle mention him as the relative of the Gajapatis.<sup>7</sup>

### Teluguraya A.D. 1438

Teluguraya, the eldest son of Samburaya was also known as Govinda. His younger brother was Pedaraya Kshmapala whose daughter Tippalidevi granted Tipplidevipalle to Brahmins for the merit of her husband Singa, son Timma Kshmapala and the two families of her parents.<sup>8</sup> None of Teluguraya's records are available.

Teluguraya's, bore the epithets —misaraganda, Mathari Saluva and Dharanivaraha. Important kingdoms in the period were Vijayanagar, Orissa and Gulburga. The Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry was not powerful and the Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda were subordinate to the Kings of Vijayanagar. King Singa, the husband of Tippalidevi was of Solar race. Kasyapagotra and entitled Jagapati. Their son was king Timma. This family is not heard of any other records Jagatapi is Gutti i.e. Modern Gooty (Anantapur district) which was probably the headquarters of this family. The suggestion that probably Jagatapsinga is Jagadobbasinga<sup>9</sup> is wrong for the latter is a title and the former Singa of Gutti his capital.

No sons of Teluguraya are heard of. So Perhaps the rule of the Saluvas of Podile ended with him. The condition of the Telugu country in this period was that it was partly under the Gajapatis and partly under the kings of Vijayanagar.

### The Saluvas of Gumkur A.D. 1400-1553

These Saluvas ruled for a century from the middle of the 15th only three generation of kings were known, besides some princes of the Saluva lineage, ruling thereabouts. These Saluvas seem to have had connection with Saluvas in the Kannada country, were warriors and led expeditions as far as Simhachalam.

A few inscriptions, literature, stray verses and tradition form the sources for the history of the Saluvas. But none of these speak about their origin. The earliest member known so far is Samburaya.

**Samburaya A.D. 1400**

None of Samburaya's records are available. He is mentioned as Samburaya in Mannadesa<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this indicates the origin of the dynasty and distinguishes him from Sambaraya of Saluvas of Podile. In Telugu literature<sup>11</sup> he is referred to as Samburaya or Samparaya. He may be placed about A.D.1400 as the earliest date for his son Teluguraya is A.D. 1428. Samburaya has been wrongly identified with Sakalaloka-chkravarti Rajanarayana Samburaya of Rajagambhirarajya<sup>12</sup> and with Samparaya, the father of Gurizala Teluguraya, lord of Ramagdri in Sabbinatirashtra, mentioned in Padmapruana of Madiki Sinaha<sup>13</sup> One author says<sup>14</sup> that Samparaya is the lord of Sampara near Drakshama.

**Teluguraya A.D. 1428**

This Teluguraya has been confused<sup>15</sup> with Teluguraya of the Saluvas of Podile. Gurizala Teluguraya, the brother of Ramanarendra, son of Erapota and grandson of Macha; and with Teluguraya, the son of Samparaya mentioned by Pillalamarri Pinavirana. One author<sup>16</sup> mistakes him to be god Teluguraya at Srikakulam, and another writer says that Teluguraya was a title of Ramanarendra. We may note that Teluguraya of Andhrapadmapurana ruled with capital at Ramagri on the banks of the Gautami with the help of Muttabhupala

Saluva Teluguraya's earliest records<sup>17</sup> are dated A.D. 1428. His Santaravur (Bapatla taluq) inscription of that year records his grants for the merit of his parents Samburaya and Nagalidevamma. His inscription at Simhachalam of the year records his grant of land in Oddadi for his merit. His next inscription is from Nutulapadu,<sup>18</sup> dated A.D. 1442, mentioning Palamaraju Tipparaja, his officer. The next inscription<sup>19</sup> is from Santaravur dated A.D. 1444. Dechchiboyani Telungutendu, probably a subordinate of Teluguraya, figures as donor in a record at Budavada<sup>20</sup> dated A.D. 1445. A record at Markapur,<sup>21</sup> with date uncertain, mentions a grant by Teluguraya. Probably Teluguraya's rule

ended in A.D. 1449—the earliest date for his successor—Tippayadeva.

### **His Political Relations**

Telunguraya is mentioned as Teluguaryadeva Maharaya, Saluva Telungarayadevaraya, Telungharayamaharaya and Teluguroya in records. He bore the epithets, Mahamandlesvara, Kathari, Saluva, misaraganda, Medinimisaraganda and dharanivaraha. Srinatha addresses him as the lord of Karnata and Andhra.<sup>22</sup> Telunguraya was a great warrior and expert horse man, as Srinatha mentions him as Telungurayarahutta. The title Telungudesadhi Telungurahutta in the prasasti of the Revunulla family is evidently after Telunguraya. Telunguraya led expeditions of conquest. The suggestion that Telunguraya is a title indicating lordship over the Telugu land and not a proper name cannot be excepted for the persons bearing the name, Teluguraya had never any extensive kingdoms. The statement that the tract called Telunga is located round about Ramagiri in Subbiraashtra to the South of the Godavari and so whoever occupied that tract took the title Telunga is wrong based on wrong interpretation of the names of kings in Ramavilasa and Padmapurana.

### **Teluguraya and the Reddis**

Rachavema at Kondavidu, Alladavema and Virabhadra at Rajahmundry were contemporary with Teluguraya. Probably Teluguraya was on freindly terms with the Reddis of Rajahmundry. He patronised the Reddi court poet Srinatha.

### **Teluguraya and the king of Vijayanagar**

During the latter part of his reign, Teluguraya owed allegiance to Devaraya II. He led an expedition of conquest into south Kalinga by A.D. 1428—the date of his Simhachalam inscription. In this he must have had the support of the kings of Vijayanagar or the Reddis. Probably he accepted Gajapati suzarainty after Kapilesvara's ancession, for the Kaifiyat of Markapuram says that Teluguraya was a subordinate of the Gajapatis.

Chavundaraya, the brother-in-law of Teluguraya, is mentioned in an undated record at Tripurantakam Chennayadeva Maharaju and his son Saluva Kesavayadeva maharaja—bearing the epithets—misaraganda, kathari and saluva—figure in a record at Yelluru dated A.D. 1446. These Saluvas, contemporary with Teluguraya, probably owed allegiance to the rulers of Vijayanagar.

### **Tippayadeva Maharaja A.D. 1449-1500**

Tippaya's relationship to Teluguraya is unknown. His only record is from Daggubadu mentioning his dalavayi Mallaneningaru. Probably his rule lasted till about A.D. 1500, when he seems to have been succeeded by Tirumalayadeva, the son of Teluguraya.

#### **His Political Relations**

Tippaya bore the usual Saluva epithets—misaraganda Kathari and Saluva. In this period the kingdom of Vijayanagar was under Saluva rule. There were Gajapati viceroyalties at Kondavidu and Rajahmundry. It is not clear whether Tippaya owed allegiance to the kings of Vijayanagar or the Gajapatis.

### **Tirumalayadeva Maharaja 1500-1550**

Two records of Tirumalaya, dated A.D. 1543 are at Nutulapadu (Bapatla taluq). They mention him as mahamandlesvara Timmalayadeva maharaja and records his grants of lands to the local temples. Probably these grants were made towards the close of his reign. "The Chief is said to have been enjoying the nayankara of the village which was granted previously by Timmarasayayu." Tirumala's contemporaries were Prataparudra and his successors at Cuttack, and Krishnaraya and his successors at Vijayanagar. Tirumala held his fief as a feudatory of Krishnadevaraya. Probably Tirumala, was the last of the line, as no sons or successors of him are heard of.

#### **The Saluvas of Tirupati**

Members of this line of the Saluvas distinguished themselves by making large sanction to gods at Tirupati and Srisailem,

mahamandlesvara Erramaraja and his father Attimalla Allibhima Timmaraja of Chalukyanarayanachchari perhaps Kalahasti appear in a record dated A.D. 1363. Errama bore the usual Saluva titles. But his Saluva descent is doubted and it is opined that his father's titles "throw a suspicion on his southern descent and seem to connect him with the Samburaya." Kathari Saluva Sankideva Maharaja, the Governor of Pendlimarri in Mulikinatissima and his son Mangayadeva Maharaja figure in a record of A.D. 1370. They were feudations of Virabukka of Vijayanagar. Kathari Saluva Narasimha, son of Vallabha and grandson of Narasimha is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1393<sup>23</sup>. He is distinct from the usurper Narasina.

Erakamparaja entitled— misaraganda, Kathari and Saluva is mentioned in a record at Chiyyavaram, dated A.D. 1404.<sup>24</sup> Rangappayya deva and his son Mallaraju bearing the Saluva titles find mention in a record at Bammavaram, dated A.D. 1441.<sup>25</sup> Saluva Tippyadeva Maharaja or Tipparaja had two sons—Selva Tippadeva ruling in A.D. 1442-43 as seen from a record at Satravada<sup>26</sup> and Goparaja governing Tekal in Mysore State. From a record at Pedda Chinnakunta (Sirvel taluq) dated A.D. 1442, Saluva Kampayadeva, son of Aubalayyadeva and grandson of Nalayampayadeva, is known.<sup>27</sup> He bore Saluva titles. In A.D. 1449 Sirumallayadeva Maharaja, son of Mallagangaya maharaja made grants at Tirupati.<sup>28</sup> In A.D. 1467 Mallayadeva bearing Saluva titles granted Gangarajupura near Penubala for the merit of his father Gangarajayya.<sup>29</sup> Saluva Parvataraja figures in records at Tirupati<sup>30</sup> and Srisailam dated A.D. 1465 and 1467. Probably he is identical with Chikkaparavatanayaka of a record<sup>31</sup> dated A.D. 1482. Saluva Erakampayadeva figures in records<sup>32</sup> at Tirupati and Srisailam. His son was Pedamallapa.

A record at Villiyambakkam<sup>33</sup> (Chingleput District) dated Kali 4540 (A.D. 1440) in the reign of Devaraya II, Saluva Hanumantarayanaraju of the lunar race, the holder of two villages as fief in the region and his son Hanumantaraja are heard of. From three inscriptions<sup>34</sup> dated A.D. 1478, 1481 and 1486 respectively at Anbil (Trichinopoly district) Saluva Sangama deva is heard of. Tirumala, son of Srirangaraja and

grandson of Kathari Saluva maharaja was ruling some tracts about Rajahmundry and in a portion of Kalinga in A.D. 1522-1523.<sup>35</sup> The same tracts were ruled over by Saluva Narasimha Singabhupala—relative of Bahubalendra in A.D. 1589.

The rulers of Karvetinagar claim Saluva descent. A family of the Salva Reddis is said to have migrated from the vicinity of Pithapur about 8th or 9th century A.D.<sup>36</sup> Saluva Narasa Reddis was in the service of Vimaladitya of the Vengi Chalukyas and was bestowed with the rulership over the tracts about Tirupati. Thus Narasa Reddi, the founder ruled about A.D. 1030 and founded Narasapuram. His grandson Venkatapatinayadu, was dispossessed of his tracts by the Cholas and Bhimanayadu, son of Venkatapati recovered the tracts. Narasimha, son of Bhima is said to have ruled for thirty years and assumed independence after assisting Kirtivaraman the Chera king in his expedition. His son Bhujanganayaka, is said to have been defeated by Sanasvana I or III of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and was taken prisoner to Kalyan where he died. His grandson recovered the estate.

After wards, these Saluvas came under the Cholas again—In A.D. 1230, Rajaraja II is said to have curtailed their estate to twenty villages. For the next four generations the Saluvas prospered. In A.D. 1314 the Saluva chief gave his daughter in marriage to Prolayavema of Kondavidu Reddis.<sup>37</sup> Afterwards, these Saluvas accepted service under the king of Vijayanagar and remained thus for 200 years. The family became extinct with Seshachala Reddi, according to whose wish, his family name Saluva is retained as one of the titles of the Bommaraju family which succeeded the Saluvas. This family has the royal seal and boar signet conferred on Narasa Reddi by Vimaladitya.<sup>38</sup>

The title—Saluvadhattavibhala of the Maratla family is reminiscent of the Saluvas and their rule.

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## CHAPTER NINETEEN

# The Kayasthas A.D. 1220-1320

The Kayasthas as defacto independent rulers though nominally subordinate to the Kakatiyas swayed over a vast tract of land in Andhra—from Panugul to Marjavadi with capitals at Vallur and Gandikota in the 13th century A.D. The dynasty consisted of four rulers all great warriors accredited with remarkable political achievement. The Kayasthas arms, along with the Kakatiya, reached far and wide into the territories now comprising Guntur, Kurnool, North Arcot, and Cuddapah districts. The Kaysatha power was felt by neighbouring kingdoms the Telugu cholas and the Telugu Pallavas etc. Though the Kayasthas did not suffer a single reverse in enemy hands, ultimately their kingdom fell of prey to the wrath of Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas.

### Sources and Origin

Kayastha records, references in the inscriptions of the Kakatiyas and the Telugu Cholas, literature and tradition from the sources for their history. As for the origin, the Kayasthas claim to be Kshatriyas<sup>1</sup> and perhaps had some connection with the Kayasthas in the north.

### Gangaya Sahini A.D. 1244-1256

Gangaya Sahini was the founder of the dynasty. Originally in the service of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, he set himself

independent and later accepted the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas. His kingdom a Kakatiya province was vast with in the bounds of Warangal, Marjavadi and Kaivara. The term Sahini—suffixed to the name of Gangaya and his successors show that these Kayasthas were great cavaliers and warriors.

### His Kingdom

Gangaya's several records attest the extent of his kingdom. His earliest inscription is from Satrasala<sup>2</sup> dated A.D. 1244 mentioning mahamandlesvara Ghandapendra Ambayyadeva—bearing a prasasti. This Ambakshmapa was a brothers-in-law of Gangaya, i.e. husband of his sister Chandaladevi and distinct from Ambadeva, of later times.<sup>3</sup> His next inscription is from Tripurantakam<sup>4</sup> dated A.D. 1250 recording his grants of Dupali to the god, for the merit of Ganapatideva Maharaja. Another records<sup>5</sup> of the year Sadharana, with Saka date lost from Nandalur mentions Saranganayaka, the minister of Gangaya. Gangaya's next record<sup>6</sup> is from Durgi, dated A.D. 1251 mentioning his minister Namadeva Pandita and King Ganapati, Gangaya's records<sup>7</sup> dated A.D. 1254 are at Tripurantakam. Gangavaram (Darsi taluq) and Vallur The first of them mentions Namadeva Pandita and Kakatiya Ganapati, the second registers the grant of Chalamartigandapuram and the last mentions Gangaya as the general of Khanderaya Pallava, the subordinate of Ahobalesvaraju the ruler of the country, Motatidesa. Gangaya's record from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1255<sup>8</sup> mentions a grant in the district of Mottavadi for the prosperity of a king Ganapati deva and himself. The next record<sup>9</sup> is from Podadurti dated A.D. 1256. In A.D. 1257, Gangaya and his wife granted Gangavaram in Mulikindu to God at Pushpagiri in the reign of Kakatiya Gangapati.<sup>10</sup> In A.D. 1259, in the reign Gangapati, Gangaya granted Naidukur (Siddhavakam taluq) as agrahara.<sup>11</sup> His last record at Tadigotla,<sup>12</sup> dated A.D. 1274 mentions Kotlur near Pushpagiri and his title—Kakatiya puravaradhisvara, besides his usual titles. As for the bounds of Gangaya kingdom, Panugal is identical with Panugal in Nalgonda district and Marjavada is Marjavadirajya

of 7000 villages, which comprised with in it Vallur (Cuddapah district) and Nindigal (Kolar district, Karnataka). Kaivarmkota—the fort of Kaivara is mentioned in the place of Marjavadi in a record and it must have formed the southern boundary of Marjavadi,<sup>13</sup> but not same as Marjavadi.<sup>14</sup> The northern boundary of Marjavadi must have been in the neighbourhood of Mopur (Pulivendla taluq) where a record refers to Marjavadi. “Thus the country which was included in one of the viceroyalties of the Kakatiya dominions appears to have been a very large area extending over the modern Telugu districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary, Nellore and Guntur.”<sup>15</sup>

### His Political Relations

Gangaya is mentioned as mahamandlesvara Gandapendara Gangayasahini in the inscriptions. The Kakatiya rulers contemporary with Gangaya were Ganapati and Rudrama. Gangaya's allegiance to Ganapati is attested by his records mentioning him and the epithets referring to him in his prasasti. In the first record<sup>16</sup> dated A.D. 1244 of Gangaya's reign, Ambayyadeva in his prasasti had the epithet a dependent of the glorious feet of (king) Ganapati deva. In A.D. 1250 Gangaya made gifts at Tripalli charter—Gangaya was ruling the country from Penugal to Marjavadi and made grants at Durgi in Pallinadu to the south of the Krishna. In Gangaya's records of A.D. 1254, in one Ganapati is mentioned as ruling at Orugallu, his capital and in the other Gangaya styled himself—the worshipping of the lous feet of Ganapatideva maharaja.<sup>17</sup> In A.D. 1255, Gangaya made gift for the prosperity of Ganapati and himself at Tripurantam. His records of A.D. 1257 and 1259 refer to Ganapati. His epithet lord of Kakati-pura i.e. Warangal in the last record of A.D. 1274 attests to his importance in the kingdom of Rudrama.

As by A.D. 1244, Gangaya was a subordinate of Ganapati, between that year and A.D. 1250 he was subdued by the latter who took his country extending from Pulivendla (Cuddapah taluq) to Chintamani taluq in Karnataka, Gangaya helped

Ganapati in his further conquests. So Ganapati conquered Gandikota, Mulikinadu, Renadu, Pendadu, Pedakallu, Sakalinadu, Eruvanadu and Pottapinadu etc. and appointed Gangaya as his viceroy over them. Thus by A.D. 1250 by conquering Telengana, the ceded districts and the tract from Ganjam to Nellore on the east, Ganapati augmented the Kakatiya empire.<sup>18</sup> Tradition says that Ganapati conquered Dupatisima and Pattapuravi in Cuddapah area and established his sway. His commander-in-chief Gangayadeva Maharaja was ruling over the Siddhavatam and Pottapinadu tracts with capital at Maidakur.<sup>19</sup> This Gangayadeva's identity with Gangaya a sahini<sup>20</sup> is not improbable.

### Gangaya and Telugu Cholas

Gangayasahini, was to begin with, prior to A.D. 1244 was in the service of Tikka I<sup>21</sup> (A.D. 1209-1248) of the Telugu cholas of Nellore, as Commander-in-chief. Next he accepted service under the Western Gangas. His enmity to Manmasiddha III (A.D. 1248-1267), son and successor of Tikka is evident from the claim<sup>22</sup> of Manmasiddhi to have taken the country of Gangaya sahini, a feudatory of the Kakatiyas. As has been suggested already,<sup>23</sup> probably when Manmasiddha III was ousted from his throne, Gangaya disturbed his kingdom and about A.D. 1245, 1250, accepted service under the Kakatiyas. The opinion<sup>24</sup> that in the fight with Manmasiddhi Gangaya was vanquished but re-instated by the power is due to mistaking Gangaya Sahini and Rakkesa Gangana to be one person and that the latter is another name of the former; and consequent misinterpretation of Tikkana's statement that Manmajanapala vanquished Rakkesa Gangana, captured his kingdom and appointed Gangaya Sahini his favourite feudatory to take that place and rule over it.

Gangaya also came into conflict with the Telugu Cholas of Cuddapah. For being a feudatory and general of Gangapati, he subdued them. Gangayadeva chola Maharaja, known from a record a Tallaproduddur had the title -asvaroha gangaysahini sarvasabandikara—the cavalier Gangaya Sahini whose treasures (sarvasva) were seized by Gangayadevachola.<sup>25</sup> Here Gangaya

Sahini is obviously the Kayastha ruler. So, Gangaya chola achieved these exploits quite early in his youth and was old at the time of the record dated A.D. 1322 at Tallaproduddur. But ultimately Gangaya Sahini was successful in the fight with Gangaya chola, for the Kaifiyat of Nemalladinne says that the country after the rule of the Telugu cholas passed on to the Kakatiyas and Gangayasahini was ruling it.<sup>26</sup> Thus Gangaya Sahini ended the Telugu chola rule in Pottapinadu and established Kakatiya sway.

### **Gangaya Sahini and the Telugu Pallavas**

Gangaya Sahini came into clash with the Telugu Pallavas of Cunddapa early in his reign. An inscription<sup>27</sup> dated A.D. 1254 mentions Gangaya Sahini as the Senapati of Khandaraya Pallava, the subordinate of Ahobalesvararaja, the ruler of Motatidesa. The circumstances that led to the subordination of Gangaya to the Telugu Pallavas are not clear. More than a decade hence about A.D. 1266-27, Gangaya had to fight the Telugu Pallavas and this time the victory was his. Tradition says<sup>28</sup> that while Gangayadeva was ruling over the country—Dupadu, Maduraja from Kandru desirous of conquering this region, started at the head of a vast army and stationed himself at Sonasila, 20 miles from Siddhavalam and two parugus from Pattapuravi to its east and to the north of the Pinakini. Gangaya deva maharaja despatched his nephew Janniga with a large force to beat back the enemy. A great battle was fought at Somasila and Siddhayadeva, after some success in the beginning, was killed in action. In A.D. 1267 Janniga set up a victory pillar at Annalur<sup>29</sup> for the merit of Siddhaya and installed Bhomalinga. Probably, Janniga did this out of admiration for the heroism of the enemies—father and son, for one account says that both of them participated in the campaign; and it does not mean that Janniga and Siddhaya acted against a common enemy.

### **Gangaya and the Western Gangas**

King Rakkesa Ganga of the Western Gangas is known from

a record at Sivadi<sup>30</sup> (Punganur taluq in Chittoor district). The date is lost. In a record<sup>31</sup> as Joti (Siddhavatam taluq) Rakkesa Gangadeva alias Rakkasa Gangarasadeva Maharaja and mahamandlesvara Mayidevar Maharaju are mentioned. In the reign of the former, a servant of the latter made grants at Joti and Takaprolu. Another record<sup>32</sup> of the year at Siddhavatam mentions Akkarasa Gangarasa Rajayya i.e. Rakkesa Gangana. The next year<sup>33</sup> A.D. 1248 in the reign of Tikkarasa Gangayyadeva i.e. Rakkesa Gangana, some gifts were made at Siddhavatam. In that year<sup>34</sup> at Takkavole (Sidhout taluq), in the reign of Takkesa Gangaya deva, some gifts were made. The person mentioned in all these records is Rakkesa Gangana.

Tikkana says<sup>35</sup> that Cholana Manmasiddhi disturbed Rakkesa Gangana. Probably Gangana, and the Telugu Cholas invaded the territories of Rakkesa Gangana, and achieved this victory jointly before Gangaya came under Kakatiyas suzerainty. Besides, Gangaya claims a victory over Damodara from the west, who was probably a Western Ganga. Damodara "holding a territory to the west of the Kakatiya kingdom and commanded a powerful army."<sup>36</sup> As early as A.D. 1244, Ambaya, the brother-in-law of Gangaya had the title—Damodara Samya disapatta. In A.D. 1240 Gangaya bore the title—recurs in his Tripurantakama inscription of A.D. 1255. So the victory over Damodara was won by Gangaya and Ambaya by A.D. 1244 and not so late as late as 1249-1250. It is not known whether Tripurantaka participated in the campaign.

Gangaya's title — Ativishamanayarudhapradharekharevanta — attests his expert horsemanship. The title is also borne by his successors.

### **Jannigadeva A.D. 1258-1271**

Janardanu alias Jannigadeva, the eldest son of Ambkashmappa by Chandala devi, the sister of Gangaya-sahini, succeeded to the throne, in A.D. 1258. His two younger brothers were Tripurari and Ambadeva. He was experienced in governing a kingdom as he was an important person in

Gangaya's reign; and in his turn he associated Tripurantaka in carrying on the Government.

### His Kingdom

The Kayastha kingdom retained the same extent as in Gangaya's reign. Jannigadeva's earliest record is from Durgi,<sup>37</sup> dated A.D. 1258 mentioning the reign of Ganapati and the governorship of Janniga. His next record<sup>38</sup> is from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1259, mentioning Ganapati. His record<sup>39</sup> dated A.D. 1260 is from Polandalur in the Bahuda in Pottapinatisima—Janniga's next record<sup>40</sup> is at Annalur dated A.D. 1261. Two records<sup>41</sup> from Karemudi and Nandalur are dated A.D. 1264, in the reigns of Ganapati and Rudrama respectively and mention Janniga's subordinate Gandapendara Maidevaraja and minister Nagarasa. The Virapalle inscription<sup>42</sup> of A.D. 1266 mentions Janniga's ruling over Panugallu, Plainadu, Eruva, Kali, Mulikonadu. Bhurajadi etc. and his minister Perumalladeva. In A.D. 1269<sup>43</sup> Janniga figures as the minister of Rudrama. Janniga's last record<sup>44</sup> is dated A.D. 1270. An undated inscription<sup>45</sup> of Janniga at Duggapattana mentions him as the minister of Rudrama called here—Ganapatideva's pattoddhati i.e. one who was elevated to the crown.

### His Political Relations

Janniga is mentioned as Mahamandalesvara Gandapendaru Jannigadeva maharaja, brahmarakshasa Gandapendra Janniga deva and Janardhana in his records. Some titles in his prasasti were—Murarinarayana, and Chelamartiganda, besides brahmarakshasa, gandapendara etc.

In A.D. 1259 and the 61st year of Ganapati, Jannigadeva and Natavadi Kumaraganapati made gifts at Tripurantakam.<sup>46</sup> From two records dated A.D. 1264 and 1269, Janniga appears as the prime minister of Rudrama ruling over the entire Kayastha kingdom from Panugal to Marjavadi. "The terms in which Jannigadeva is described in the latter (Karempudi) inscription show that he was practically wielding the sceptre on behalf of queen Rudramadevi."<sup>47</sup> Ruling Mulikinadu, Pattapinadu and Gandikota, Janniga was like the right arm to Rudrama.

Janniga is said to have defeated Kulottunga choda and Siddayadevachoda. The former is probably a Velanadu prince and the latter was obviously a Telugu Chola. Tradition speaks for the popularity and importance of Janniga as a ruler. For the Kaifiyat of Vallur mention Janardanraja i.e. Janniga among its rulers.<sup>48</sup> A record at Venkatasaripalle—with date lost—mentions Brahmarakshasa Nanniyadeva.<sup>49</sup> Evidently in this Janniga is meant.

### **Tripurari deva A.D. 1271-1273**

Tripurari succeeded Janniga on the Kayastha throne in A.D. 1271. After a brief reign for four years, he was succeeded by Ambadeva. In that reign, the Kayastha kingdom retained its usual limits, and Tripurari owed allegiance to the Kakatiyas.

#### **His Kingdom**

Tripurari's earliest record<sup>50</sup> is from Potlapadu dated 1151, a mistake for s 491 pramodi corresponding to A.D. 1269. His next record<sup>51</sup> is from Tadigotla dated A.D. 1271. Prajotapatti. The inscription from Alavulapadu (Darsi Taluq) dated A.D. 1272 record Tripurantaka's gifts for the increase of his life, health, wealth etc. Two records of the year are at Tripurantakam and Jennavaram (Proddutur taluq). An undated inscription of Tripurantaka is at Potlapadu.

#### **His Political Relations**

Tripurari is mentioned as Brahmarakshasa Gandapendara Tripurantakadeva Maharaja and Mahamandlesvara Tripurari-deva Maharaja in his records. His loyalty to the Kakatiya throne is attested by his records. One of his epithets in his prasasti in the Alavulapadu inscription is kakatikulatilakarudra deva maharaja charanalinayugalasamaradhana i.e. worshipper of the lotus feet of Rudradeva maharaja i.e. Rudramadevi whose titles are enumerated in the record. The same title is repeated in his Dotlapadu inscription. In some records he is mentioned as the director of the seventy-two offices and feudatory of Rudradeva.

Kamanadu, Mulikinadu, Pottapinadu, Gandikota etc. were included in Tripurari's kingdom. Tripurari had his capital, first at Nellore and then at Vallur. Besides the ordinary Kayastha titles, he bore the epithets—Samadhigatasakalarajyadhipatymahavibhava i.e. who has acquired the lordship of the whole kingdom and mururayajagadala and chalamarkuganda—the last two being definitely kakatiya titles. Pratapa Rudra claim to have defeated a Tripurari who rose in rebellion against him. But this Tripurari was the son of Ambadeva, and not his elder brother and the date of this success of Prataparudra—A.D. 1268. is too early for him.

Tripurari seem to have lost his life in fighting some enemy of his. For the Sanagapudi family has the title—Tripurari devuki talagonduganda and the Vipparla family bore in its prasasti the epithet. Allutripurari Manamardana. If the references are to Tripurari of the Kayasthas, some ancestors of theses families must have fought him. The victories over Vijayagandagopala, Erava Manumilideva, Siddhayadeva Choda were wrongly attributed to Tripurari but were won some in Janardana's reign and others in Ambadeva's reign.

### Ambadeva A.D. 1273-1335

Ambadeva, the greatest of the Kayasthas issued the largest number of records. He threw off allegiance to the Kakatiyas and was an independant ruler unlike his predecessors. He won many victories and was a conspicuous figure in the South India of his times. His successors were weak men, the kingdom fell a prey to the Kakatiya arms and was ruled by its governors.

### His Kingdom

Ambadeva inherited a vast kingdom and extended it which is proved by his records. His earliest record is from Kotlur dated A.D. 1274 mentioning Gangayasahini, the prince of Kakatiyapuram. Ambadeva's Attirala inscription dated A.D. 1287 mentions the capital Vallurupattana, and the divisions of the kingdom Eruva, Pottapinadu, Mulikinadu, Ghandikota, Renadu, Penadadi, Pedakallu and Sakili. The next record dated A.D. 1288 at Tripurantakam records gifts by Ambaya

Reddi. Six of Ambadeva's records dated A.D. 1290 are at Poli (Pillampet taluq). Gundluru Tripurantakam, Nilagangavaram, Obalam, Sivapuram and indicate the extent of his kingdom. Some of them enumerate Ambadeva's exploits. The record from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1291 gives him titles—mentioning him as the taker of the head of Eruvamallaideva, capturer of the forces of Mallikarjuna, vanquisher of Katavaraya and a friend of the Pandya and Yadava (Devagiri) kings. Another record of the year is from Gudlur (Pullampet Taluq) giving its location in Merpakkainadu a district of Adhirajendrachodamandalam. Ambadeva's record from Domalagunda near Gandiganamala, with date A.D. 1293 records some grant for his prosperity. The Peddadandalur record of A.D. 1294 gives a long list of Ambadeva's titles. Another record there of A.D. 1297 gives Ambadeva's titles, though his name is lost in it. Two of Ambadeva's records of A.D. 1298 are at Cuddapah and one of these mentions him ruling from Gandikota. Another record<sup>52</sup> of the year is from Devagudi. In the Peddapadu inscription<sup>53</sup> of A.D. 1300, Ambadeva is mentioned as ruling from Gandikota. Ambadeva's Lepaka inscription is dated A.D. 1302. Three records<sup>54</sup> from Lepaka, Kadapayapalle and Varnikunta—all dated A.D. 1304 mention Tripurarideva, son of Ambadeva, ruling from Pamurupattana his capital. The next record is from Cuddapah dated A.D. 1305.<sup>55</sup> The last of Ambadeva's record is from Tripurantadevaraju and Lokinayaningaru, son of Chelinayani Kommanayadu. The latter is described as the Champion of Rudra, the right arm of Telungubhupala, lord of the town of Revunur and worshipper of the feet of Kallesvara.<sup>56</sup> Of the records of Ambadeva with no dates or dates doubtful, the record from Lepaka<sup>57</sup> mentions Ganga-deva, son of Sarvadhikari Irumadideva who made a merchant of Nellore make grants for the success of Ambadeva.

### Ambadeva's Political Relations

Ambadeva's records are found in a continuous series from A.D. 1272 to 1305. His capitals were Valluru and Gandikota Manorathapura. He is mentioned as mahamandalesvara, Gandapendara, Ambadeva Maharaja and Ambadevaraju in

records His son Tripurari and some other Kayastha princes were associated in the governance of the kingdom.

Ambadeva's Kakatiya contemporaries were Rudrama and Prataparudra. He was loyal to them during the major part of his reign though proved a rebel towards the close of it. Like Tripurantaka, Ambadeva held an important place in the Kakatiya kingdom. Prince Gangaya Sahini, whose relationship to Ambadeva is not known, was the prince of Kakatiyapura and general of Rudrama. Ambadeva's record from Sivapuram<sup>58</sup> dated A.D. 1290 mentions him as a subordinates of the Kakatiyas. His many victories mentioned in his records of this year, it has been said are achieved by him on behalf of Rudrama. But none of his records indicate his loyalty to Prataparudra. On the contrary, he seems to have encouraged rebellions against the Kakatiyas. For, from the records of the period a rebellion is seen at the beginning of the reign of Prataparudra. Manmangada gopala of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore rebelled with the help of Ambadeva and Adidamma, a general of Prataparudra suppressed the revolt.<sup>59</sup> Again about A.D. 1304-5, Ambadeva and Tripuranaka, rose in rebellion against Prataparudra, when he was engaged otherwise. Prataparudra sent his armies under the generals—Sonaya, Gajasahini Machaya, and Gundaya to Gandikota.<sup>60</sup> The Kayasthas oppose the enemy, lost the battle and the Kakatiyas were victorious and acquired many titles. As a consequence, Kakatiya sway was restored and Somaya was appointed to rule over it. Local tradition bears eloquent testimony to this. Mack Ms<sup>61</sup> say that certain Odde kings occupied Mulikinadu country in the south, and Prataparudra conquered them, and his subordinate Gandapendara Tripurari governed Mulikinadu and in s 1190 granted a village in Sakilinadu, to god at Siddhavatam, as seen from a record to the south of Atlur. On title in it is—Oddaraya Disthapanavairi i.e. Pratapa conquered the Odda king. And when Tripurari rose against King Pratapa, the latter defeated him and the descendants of Mallaraju and Sevuna kings and appointed Juttayalenka as the Governor of Mulikinadu The Kaifiyat of Valluru<sup>62</sup> also mentions the Atlur inscription of s 1190, Prataparudra's invasion of these parts, the conquest of

the Odda chiefs and the capture of the fort by resort to strategem; and that Prataparudra's role continued till s 1232. In these accounts, the date S 1190 is wrong. One Ms Says<sup>63</sup> that Prataparudra desirous of putting down the power of Tripurarideva, who had established himself strongly in the fort of Gandikota, and was acting in an independent attitude, invaded these parts with an army and conquered Brahmarakshasa Gundapendara Tripurantaka Mallaraju and the rest of Odde Chiegs allied with him. Jattayalenka was appointed to rule over Gandikota and Mulikanadu. But inscriptions show that Juttayalenka was ruling in A.D. 1314 and not earlier. But the records of Somaya and other feudatories of the Kakatiyas were found in a continuous series from about A.D. 1308 in the Kayastha territories. This gave rise to the conclusion<sup>64</sup> that Ambadeva died in the battle in A.D. 1304. But Ambadeva's records of A.D. 1305 and 1335 disprove this surmise. Though it is definite that he was vanquished and ruled thereafter as a feudatory of the Kakatiyas. The Kaifiyat of Ravulakallu<sup>65</sup> says that while Prataparudra was ruling this region, his subordinate Ambadeva administred these tracts; and his minister Gangayasahini settled a boundary dispute. Besides, the Kaifiyat of Mangampalle also says that while Prataparudra was ruling at warangal, his subordinate Ambadeva invaded these parts, defeated the Odda kings, took their capital Vallur, established himself there and adopted the boar symbol of the Kakatiyas. Probably Ambadeva owed allegiance to Juttayalenka Gonka Reddi, the Governor of Muliknadu etc from A.D 1314.

### **Ambadeva and the Telugu Cholas**

Ambadeva's Capital Valluru, a century before—in A.D. 1192 was the capital of the Telugu cholas of Nellore and the Chief town of Maharajapadi 7000 ruled by Bhujabalavira Nellasiddha I (A.D. 1187-1214)—Ambadeva was an enemy of the Eruvacholas, his contemporaries being Mallideva Ganga mallideva or Atlugangadeva and Gangayadeva. A title of

Ambadeva is Eruva mallideva nitalagondugandu i.e. taker of the head of Eruva Mallideva. The title occurs in the Tripurantakam inscription of A.D. 1291. Earlier still, his Attirala inscription dated A.D. 1287 mentions the epithet—Eruva Bundeve parasainya Kodanda gandu, the meaning of which is not clear. The conflict between Ambadeva and the Eruvacholas was over by A.D. 1287. Mallideva is identical with Manmilideva. The legend on the coins of Ambadeva is Eruvadisapatta the scatterer in several directions of the army of Eruvaraja. This must refer to same conflict noted above and Eruvaraja refers to Mallideva. This was an important victory for Ambadeva and so is recorded in his inscriptions and on coins. Kesavadeva, Somiganga is probably identical with Allugangadeva, father of Gangayadeva CM of the Eruva Cholas. Ambadeva claims to have vanquished Mallikarajuna who was an enemy of Brahmins and gods, thus crushed his pride and honour and captured his forces. This Mallikarajuna is a Eruvachola, for the Peddadandalur inscription dated A.D. 1294 of Ambadeva mentions the title vairivira Eruva Kallikarjuna instead of the usual form Vairivira Mallikarjuna. The victories over Alluganga and Mallikarjuna no doubt formed part of the campaign which was accomplished by A.D. 1287. Somideva is probably identical with king Somideva figuring in a record at Gundlur dated A.D. 1284.

Ambadeva came into contact with the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, his contemporaries being Tikka II (A.D. 1265-1281), Manmagandagopala (A.D. 1281-1299), Viragandagopala (A.D. 1292-1302) and Rajagandagopala alias Ranganathan (A.D. 1299-1325). He claims to have established at Nellore Manmagandagopala who had been of late deprived of his kingdom.<sup>66</sup> In A.D. 1294, Ambadeva is mentioned as the friend of Manmagandagopala.<sup>67</sup> This achievement of Ambadeva need not be doubted for want of his records in the Nellore areas; and it does not imply his rule in parts of the Nellore district.<sup>68</sup> Between A.D. 1296 and 1298, Manmagandagopala rebelled against the Kakatiya supremacy, with the support of Ambadeva and was vanquished by general Adidemma, who claims to have invaded and defeated a Telugu Chola ruler.<sup>69</sup> Further Prataparudra Claims to have cut off the head of

Manmagandagopala in A.D. 1294, whom Ambadeva claims to have established on throne in A.D. 1291-92. As inscriptions show that Manmagandagopala lived upto A.D. 1299 Prataparudra's claim cannot be given full credence.

### Ambadeva and other Rulers

Ambadeva conquered Sripati Ganapati and assumed the title Rayasahasramalla. His Nilagangavaram inscription dated A.D. 1292 mentions that Ambadeva captured the regal fortune of Gundala Ganadhipa who was a comrade to the Malva king, who the Malva king is we do not know. But Ganadhipa is probably Sripati Ganapati and Gurindala is perhaps Gurindasthala i.e. Gundala. It has been surmised<sup>71</sup> that the legend Rayasamu in his coins is probably a contraction of the title Rayasahasramalla, which is not satisfactory. This victory of Ambadeva was won by A.D. 1287—the date of the Attirai inscription mentioning the title—Rayasahasramalla.

Ambadeva had the title—Paschimadamodarasanyadiaspatti i.e. scatter of the army of Damodara, the lord of the West. This Damodaras was a Western Ganga and not a Kadamba. As the victory was claimed by Gangayasahini and his brother-in-law Ambayyadeva, obviously Ambadeva inherited the title.

Ambadeva came into conflict with a Kadavaraya and vanquished him. Evidently this Kadavaraya is Kopperunjing (A.D. 1247-1278) of the Pallavas. In the records of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II, a Kadavaraya is referred to and is said to have driven Manmagandagopala from Nellore, and occupied his kingdom.<sup>73</sup> No doubt this Kadavaraya and the one who was an enemy of Rudrama and mentioned in Amayadeva's record refer to one person, Kopperunjinga. Ambadeva's victory over Kadavaraya resulted in the restoration of Gandagopala to his throne at Nellore. The date of the victory must have been before A.D. 1278, the last date for Kopperunjinga. An Ambadeva's Tripurantakam inscription of A.D. 1291-92 says that Ambadeva worsted Kadavaraya<sup>74</sup> 'probably refer to his exploit early in life' as the date of the record falls beyond the period of Kopperunjinga.

Ambadeva maintained freindly relations with the Yadavas of Devagiri. The contemporary rulers were Mahadeva (A.D. 1271-1309) and his nephew Ramachandradeva (1271-1309). Record of the period show that some wars were fought between the Yadavas, the Pandayas and the Kakatiyas. In these Ambadeva fought on the side of the Yadavas and the Pandyas against the Kakatiyas. His Tripurantakam inscription of A.D. 1291 mentions that he was on freindly terms with the kings<sup>75</sup> of Devagiri. The king here refers to Ramachandra.

The Pandyan emperors contemporaneous with Ambadeva were—Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II and Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya. Ambadeva's Tripurantakam epigraph (A.D. 1291) says that he was on friendly terms with the Pandya i.e. Jatavaraman Sundara Pandya II. Numerous inscriptions of Sundarapandya II are in Cuddapah district<sup>76</sup> especially at Attirala and Lepaka, and Ambadeva must have assisted him in his wars against the Kakatiyas.

Ambadeva bore the epithets—Poddiya damlaka (?), Tondananakakanchisarasvatīmanosribhandarachurakara, and Kalukadapuravaradhisvara in his Attirala inscription<sup>77</sup> of A.D. 1287. Of them the second part of the first title may be corrected as Damana and the title means that he vanquished some Odda i.e. Kalingan armies, the meaning of the second epithet is not clear, though on the whole it comes to that Ambadeva looted the wealth of Tonda, the ruler of Kanchi. Kalukadapura is probably identical with Palakkada, the ancient Pallava capital in Nellore district. Jagatapiraya i.e. lord of Jagatapi i.e. Gooty, is another title of Ambadeva mentioned in his Peddapandalur inscription<sup>78</sup> of A.D. 1294. So he must have taken Gutti by that year.

Ambadeva was a popular ruler which is born out by the many villages and tanks named after him throughout the kingdom. His alliance with the Yadavas, the Pandyas and the Telugu cholas alienated the sympathies of the Kakatiyas towards the Kayasthas. Ambadeva consequently lost his independence and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas, as the records of the kakatiya governors in the province would show.

### Later and other Kayasthas

Some records show that Tripurari, son of Ambadeva, was ruling in A.D. 1304 with his capital at Pamurupattana. Tradition says<sup>79</sup> that in, course of time, Tripurari became powerful, and refused the payment of tribute to Prataparudra. So, Prataparudra started at the head of a large army, and besieged Gandikota where Tripurari with his supporters set up the standard of revolt and had taken his stand. The Kakatiyas subjugated the Kayasthas. Maharaya Pattasajni Somayamaya was appointed by Prataparudra to govern these tracts. Somaya's records are found from A.D. 1307.<sup>80</sup> So Tripurari's rebellion must have occurred after A.D. 1304 and prior, to 1309. About A.D. 1314 Juttayalenka Gonka Reddi was appointed to the rulership of Gandikota, Muliknadu etc. Gonka's titles in his Chennur inscription<sup>81</sup> of that year are brahmarakshasa, Ghardikotavibhava, Voddiyadisapatta, Sevunadhatta-Vibhala, and Malldevanitalagonduganda. Most of these titles are borne by the Kayasthas and hence Juttaya Lenka Gonka Reddi after defeating Ambadeva assumed them as his own. The titles referring to the Sevunas and Gandikota might refer to his victory over Ambadeva and Tripurari at Gandikota, where the yadavas probably came to their help.

A record at Chennuru<sup>82</sup> gives the titles of a gondapendara of a Brahmarakshasa family. In a record at Darsi dated A.D. 1313 a Potaya Sahini is mentioned.<sup>83</sup> In a record at Panem<sup>84</sup> dated A.D. 1319, Mummudi Pottaya, a feudatory of Prataparudra bore the epithet, Brahmarakshasa. A record at Tripurantakam<sup>85</sup> with date doubtful, mention some birudas., gandapendara etc. Sana of the generals of Prataparudra, thus bore, some of the Kayastha titles.

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## CHAPTER TWENTY

# The Telugu Chodas

The Cholas in the Telugu country are heard of from early times. The Chola maharajas were exercising sway in the Renadu tract till the 10th century A.D. In the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries, the dynasties of the Telugu cholas appear all over the Andhra land ruling in its different parts for varying periods through out medieval times—till the middle of the 16th century A.D. The most wellknown of the Telugu Chodas were those of Konidena, Pottapi, Nellore, Eruva, Kandur, Ramavati etc. Besides, there were several families of Telugu chola descent, holding power in parts of South India, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Imperial Cholas, the Kakatiyas, the western chalukyas and the Kalachuris. On the whole, the Telugu Cholas are powerful, de facto independent and achieved remarkable political victories.<sup>1</sup> Their assets in other fields were not less significant. The Telugu chola rule extended into Kanchi for a while and their influence into the heart of the Tamil land—Chola and even Pandya where as their power attained its zenith in the reigns of the Chola sovereigns—Kullottunga III and Rajaraja III. Towards the close of the 13th century A.D. and the beginning of the 14th, the Telugu Chodas lost their power to the Kakatiyas and the Kayasthas. So their power in the 14th century and the 15 century was much less compared with that in the 12th and 13th centuries.

## **The Telugu Cholas of Konidena A.D. 1050-1300**

A branch of the Telugu Cholas ruled in Kammanadu, partly included in modern Guntur district—for nearly two centuries with capital at Konidena. The kings were distinguished warriors and administrators and the three shrines—Ballisvara, Kamisvara and Tribhuvanamalla at Konidena were named after three kings of the line. The Kondena cholas acknowledge the Chalukya chola suzerainty in the beginning, and that of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the kakatiyas towards the end.

### **Sources and Origin**

Inscriptions, literature and tradition recorded, form the sources for the history of these cholas. Their ancestry is in common with that of the Cholas of pottapi and Nellore. Like the Imperial Cholas, and unlike the Velanandu chodas, the Telugu cholas claim descent from the sun and belong to Kashatriya caste. So the statement that “some records say that they were of Pallava origin. Others call them descendants of the Chalukyas and call them by the title Sasikula chalukki” is based on incorrect data for the records referred to belong to the Telugu Pallavas and the Yadavarayas, some of whom bore names also borne by the Telugu cholas. For instance the names Gandagopala and Tirukalatti, common wrong Telugu cholas were also borne by the Telugu Pallavas and the Yadavarayas, some of whom bore names also borne by the Telugu Cholas. For instance, the names Gandagopala and Tinukalatti, common among Telugu cholas were also borne by the Telugu Pallavas and the Yadavarayas. The descent of the Telugu cholas is thus—From Vishnu’s navel lotus was born Brahma whose son was Marichi. Marichi’s son was Karyapa whose son was Surya i.e. sun. His son was Vaivasvata whose son was Manu. In Manu vamsa was born Ikshvaku in whose lineage was born Kakatiya. In the lineage of Prithu, son of Kakutsa, was born Mandhata in whose vamsa was born Purukutsa. In his lineage was born Sangana, in whose lineage was born Dilipa. Nannichoda says that the sons of Sagara dug a

ditch from the centre of the earth. In the lineage of Dilipa was born Bhagiratha who brought waters from heaven to earth. In Bhagiratha vamsa was born Raghu and in Raghuvamsa Srirama i.e. Raghava who bridged the sea between Rameswaram and Setu.<sup>2</sup> In Rama's lineage was born Nalachakravarti, whose son was Pundarika.

According to the Boppudi inscription,<sup>3</sup> from Brahma was born Daksha, and after many kings in the solar race had passed away was born Jatachoda, the ruler of Ayodya. Jatachoda made digvijaya, and conquered Dravilapanchakam and the king of Orayur. His son was Karikala, the builder of embankments to the vauveri. The Konideya record says<sup>4</sup> that Karikala was the greatest of his line—Pundarikavamsa, and so Bhanuvamsa came to be known as Karikalavamsa. His exploits are well known and Tikkana sums up them in a verse.<sup>5</sup> As Professor Sastri dismisses the idea of a second Karikala as untenable,<sup>6</sup> all the theories and conclusions to the contrary based on inconclusive date, by other writers fall to ground. Accepting them, there was no Karikala it must be that Jatachoda was also known as Mahimanachoda and his two other sons were Tondamana and Dasavarman; and Karikala had a son Mahimana Choda.

The Konidena cholas the earliest of the medieval Telugu cholas, claim descent from Dasavarman<sup>7</sup> who claims to have conquered Pakarashtra and ruled Renadu with capital at Pottapa.<sup>8</sup> The Boppudi inscription mentions him as the second son and Tondamana as the third son of Mahimana choda. He is placed about A.D. 1100<sup>9</sup> which is wrong. He had a son Panka and Tikkana says that in Karikala Kula was born Bijjana.

The chronology of the early cholas, mentioned so far is very uncertain. The age of Karikala is not yet conclusively settled. To cite Professor Sastri "The fifth century date, based as it is entirely on the Vijayaditya—Trilochana- Karikala synchronism it utterly untrustworthy." As the Professor disproves all the objections raised to a date in the second century A.D. or any other early date for Karikala. This date becomes most acceptable. So the legendary heroes.

perceding Karikala lived before second century and the semi-historic personages following him in that century and after.

### Rise of the Telugu cholas

Where as during the first half of the 11th century A.D. the hegemony of South India was divided between the Imperial cholas, the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, in A.D. 1070 the Chalukya and chola kingdom's were united under Kulottunga I. In this period, many a minor dynasty rose to power in Vengi. One such is the dynasty of the Telugu cholas, who unlike the Velanandu chodas did not serve the Chalukyas of Vengi.

### Balliya chola A.D. 950

Balliya chola is the first historical person of the Konidena branch. To say the he succeeded Dasavarman is basless. He bore the charanasaroruha prasasti. His only record is a c.p. grant bearing no date. On palacographical grounds and historical data, the donor-Balliyachola has been rightly placed about 850-860 (A.D. 928-938) by the Epigraphist who says "If Nannichoda belongs to s 1000 has been supposed already, chodaballi should be assigned to about s 975. Consequently it appears possible that Balliya choda of the present record was an earlier member of the same branch." Balliya chola's identification with Ballyayadeva choda alias Chodaballayachoda of A.D.1106-7 of the Konidena line" on grounds of chronology and similarity of name" is not acceptable for the assignment of the c.p. grant—Madras Museum plates.<sup>10</sup> to the 12th century A.D. is too late as seen from a study of the plate.

### His Political Relations

As has been suggested Balliya choda was the last member of the cholas to rule over the Renadu country—the last of the Chola maharajas of the cuddapah district. With him, the Cholas in the region disappeared and migrated to the eastern regions—modern Nellore and Guntur districts where the records of his successor are found. Perhaps Balliya owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The Vaidumbas in

the Cuddapah area were contemporaries of Balliya chola. For in A.D. 971 a Vaidumba Maharaja was ruling in Cuddapah district.<sup>11</sup>

### Chodaballi A.D. 1000

Chodaballi may be placed about A.D. 1000 as the earliest date for his son and successor Nannichoda is A.D. 1078. His identification with Balliyachola, Balli choda, and Tribhuvana-malla deva choda is untenable on chronological and other grounds. For Balliya Cholas date is about A.D. 930 where as Tribhuvana malladevachoda lived between A.D. 1145 and 1166. But Chodaballi may be identified with Tribhuvana malladeva, the father of Nannideva Choda.<sup>12</sup>

Chodaballi was of solar race, and Kasyapagotra and a warrior. His queen was Srisati of Haihaya lineage,<sup>13</sup> probably of Konamandala. He has been often confused with his namesake, who lived a century later.<sup>14</sup> He may have owed allegiance to Satyasraya of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

### Nannichoda A.D. 1050-1100

*Chronology* : The records of Nannichoda are few and his Kumarasambhava gives little data to determine his date with any approach to accuracy. Not less than half a dozen princes bearing the name Nannichoda, and belonging to different branches of the Telugu chola lineage were found ruling in the Telugu country in some locality or other between A.D. 1000 and 1500. The identification of Nannichoda of Kumara-sambhava from his several namesakes and the fixation of his chronology forms one of the most controversial problems of the history of the period as well as its literature. Plenty of literature has grown on the subject ; no two writers agree and all have failed in their effort as they did not pay any attention to chronology and identified Nannichoda with all his namesakes and his father Chodaballi with Ballichoda, Tribhuvana Malla choda<sup>15</sup> of different periods and suggested irrelevant variants of names of persons e.g. Nannichoda's mother.

The important views in brief were as follows : 1. Nannichoda identified with Rajadityachola ruled the country between

the Godavari and Ceylon with capital at Uraiyur on the Cauvery, did digvijaya and assumed the title Tenkanaditya. He lost his kingdom, regained it, and lost his life in the battle with the Western Chalukyas in A.D. 940. The holder of this view<sup>16</sup> is aware of the existence of several other Nannichodas of a later date.

2. Nannichoda<sup>17</sup> was the earliest of Andhra poets, much earlier than Nannaya, the holder of this view is dependent on literary evidence, and discredits all other views "known upto his day.

3. Nannichoda was a contemporary of Nannaya Bhatta, on the basis that they had some common passages in their works, the authors of this view say that Nannichoda and Nannaya held literary controversies in the court of Rajaraja, Nannichoda and his followers were defeated and the references to Tarakavi in Nannichoda's work refer to him.<sup>18</sup>

4. Nannichoda lived about A.D. 1150 and his father lived between A.D. 1145 and 1166 and his mother Mabala-devi.<sup>19</sup> This view has been opposed on the ground that his mother was Srisati.<sup>20</sup>

5. Nannichoda's lordship of Orayur, his digvijaya and rule from Godavari to Ceylon and opinions that Mabala is a variant of Machala and Srisati is a variant of the latter.<sup>21</sup>

6. Nannichoda lived about A.D. 1120 on the basis of the Peddacherukur inscriptions.<sup>22</sup>

7. Nannichoda was later than Palkuriki Somanath's work in dvipada was written first and Nannichoda's padyakanya later.<sup>23</sup>

8. Nannichoda was later but nearer to Nannaya, and the Chalukyaraju in his verse definitely refers to Rajaraja Inarendra.<sup>24</sup>

9. Nannichoda was later than Tikkana, as Chola inscriptions are found, till sixty or seventy years after. So Nannichoda must have lived towards the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century A.D. He was a feudatory Chieftain and not the ruler of the country from the Godavari to Ceylon.<sup>25</sup>

Of all these dates for Nannichoda, same are based on purely indirect literary evidence and the inscriptions cited refer to Nannichodas other than the author of Kumarasambhava. The view 8th in the list above is nearer the truth. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, and in the light of the available material, Nannichoda may be placed from A.D. 1050 to 1100, after Chodaballi and prior to Pottapi Kamachoda.

Nannichoda is mentioned as Srinanni devachodamaharaja in this record at Begaramudi<sup>26</sup>, dated A.D. 1080. Like his predecessors he ruled Pakanadu with capital at Pottapi. His reign may have lasted till A.D. 1106—the earliest date for his successor. Nannichoda's contemporary other rulers were—Vijayaditya VII of the Vengi Chalukyas, Kulottunga I of the Cholas, Vikramaditya VI of the chalukyas of Kalyani and Gonka I of the Velanandu Chodas. There are no signs of Nanni choda's allegiance to the Cholas or the Chalukyas.

Inscriptions reveal some Telugu cholas of this period whose relationship to Nannichoda is not known. Rajamahendra Pottapi chodaraju is heard of from a record dated A.D. 1088. His ancestry is thus—Mantru Venkayaraju was the son of Chagi Venkana of the solar race. His son Nannichoda had a son Suraparaju whose son was Rajamahendra Pottapi Chodaraju. The Boppudi inscription gives the genealogy of another family. Panka, son of Dasavarman had a son Tyagikota. His son was King Balla, the "ruler of Pakanadu 1000. Kali Kalachodaganda, a feudatory of a king of the Mahratta family and lord of Kalikadapura, is heard of from a record dated A.D. 1085.

#### **Pottapi Kamadeva C.M. A.D. 1106-1115**

Pottapi Kama's relationship to Nannichoda is not known. His earliest record is from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1106. His next two records dated A.D. 1111 and the 43rd year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulottunga choda I, are also from Tripurantakam and mention his minister Bhimaya and dandanayaka Ramana. Kama C.M. figures in an undated record at Kamepalle. A.D. 1115 - the first date for Kama's son Kannara, was consequently the last date for Pottapi Kama.

## His Political Relations

Pottapi Kama had a reign of about a decade. His identification with Kama, husband of Sriyadevi is wrong. From Pottapi prefixed to his name, Kama extended the kingdom to Tripurantakam as attested by his records. He was the first Telugu choda ruler to have acknowledged the chola suzerainty in his records. Kama's loyalty to Kulottunga I is seen from his records dated in the 43rd year of the emperor. Probably along with other rulers of Vengi, Kama joined Kulottunga and Vikramachola in their wars against the Chalukyas and Kalinga Gangas.

Kama's Velanandu contemporaries were Gonka I and Choda I. Probably he came into conflict with Gonka I whose sway extended up to Tripurantakan as evidenced from his records. And perhaps Tripurantakam formed the boundary between the Telugu Chola and Velanandu choda kingdoms at the time-both acknowledging Chola suzerainty.

In this period, Ballaya chola alias Choda Bayya chodu is heard of from a record of A.D. 1106-7. The Boppudi inscription mentions a Kama choda. Pottapi Kama choda's son of Udayaditya and Kamaladevi, of A.D. 1266 was of obviously much later than his Pottapi Kama.<sup>27</sup> The suggestion<sup>28</sup> that Kama choda must have had a younger brother chodavalli is not supported by evidence.

## Kannara Choda A.D. 1115-1137

Kannarachoda's records range from A.D. 1115 to 1137. His records<sup>29</sup> of A.D. 1115 are at Trangadumalli and Kopparam. They mention him, his younger brother Chodaballideva, and minister Mara and their gifts at Tangedumalli confirmed by Rudrangaka, son of Gunasagara and at Kopparam by mahamandalesvara Kadiyaraja, a subordinate of Vishnuvardhana. In A.D. 1216, Kannara at Bapatla made a grant of Mudukamballi in Kammanandu.<sup>30</sup> Kannara's next record<sup>31</sup> is from Draksharama dated C.V. 46 recording gifts for the merit of his parents—Kamaraju and Pallamahadevi, to Bhimesvara at Peddadakareni in Guddavadinadu and in his own country—Kammanadu. His record from Kalahasti<sup>32</sup>

dated in the 12th year of Vikrama choladeva corresponding to A.D. 1130, mentions his daughter Madevi. Kannara's last record is from Bapatla dated A.D. 1136 and the 4th year of Kulottunga (II) mentioning Nillisetti, son of Penugonda Jagadobbagadha Venniseti, the merchant of the king.<sup>33</sup> An undated record of Kannara is at Minakallu. His reign lasted till A.D. 1136-the earliest date for his successors—Kama and Tribhuvanamalla.

### **His Political Relations**

Kannara had a reign of twenty-two years and probably associated his two younger brothers - Chodavalli and Tribhuvanamalla in the governance of the kingdom. He is mentioned as Kannarachoda and Kannaradeva alias Rajendra solappot-tapi cholan in his inscriptions.

### **Kannara and the Cholas**

The Chola emperors in this period were - Kulottunga, Vikramachola and Kulottunga II. To begin with, he owed allegiance to the Cholas. For the confirmation of the grants in the Kopparam inscription of A.D. 1115 by Kadiyaraja, the subordinate of Vishnuvardhana Vikramachola "pre supposes the subordinate position of the Telugu cholas to the Chalukya chola sovereign Vikramachola (Vishnuvardhana XI) who as his father's viceroy in Vengi ruled from A.D. 1092 to 1118."<sup>34</sup> But soon after with other local rulers in Vengi including the Velanandu cholas, Kannara had to acknowledge Chalukya suzerainty as his Draksharama inscription is dated in C.V. 46. As Chola supremacy in Vengi was restored by A.D. 1127, Kannara's return to Chola loyalty is attested by his Kalahasti record dated in the 12th year of Vikramachola. The language of the record which is Tamil and the location, as well as Kannara's name Rajendracholappottapichcholan attest his loyalty to the Cholas, and the southward expansion of the Telugu choda kingdom.

### **Kannara and the Chalukyas of Kalyani**

The Chalukya kings in this period were Vikramaditya VI

and Somesvara III. After Vikramachoda left Vengi in A.D. 1118, Vikramaditya established his power in Vengi, which is borne out by the series of inscriptions at Draksharama dated in C.V. era. Kannara recognised Vikramaditya's supremacy.<sup>35</sup> But as Chalukya supremacy was a temporary phenomenon in Vengi, Kannara owed no allegiance to Somesvara III. On the other hand he must have fought the Chalukya on behalf of the Cholas.

### Kannara and the Kakatiyas

The Kakatiya ruler at the time was Prola II. Perhaps Kannara and Parola II were on terms of alliance which is supported by the fact that the grants recorded in the Tangedumalli inscription<sup>36</sup> of Kannara were ratified by Rudranayaka the senapati of Prola, probably Prola II of the Kakatiyas.

Kannara's Velanandu contemporary was Choda I. His records, too are at Kalahasti dated in Vikramachola's regnal years. Probably Kannara and Choda were allies. Kadiyaraja, a feudatory of Vikramachola and the rectifier of Kannara's Kopparam grant in A.D. 1115 is probably identical with Kadiyaraja of the Nagas ruling over Dharmapura in Guntur district in A.D. 1128.

Chodadeva maharaja of the race of Karikarala and lord of Kammanadu figures in a record at Raparla (Ongole taluq) dated A.D. 1118.<sup>37</sup> His relationship to Kannara is not known. His identification with Ballayachola, father of Kama is untenable on chronological grounds. Mahamandalesvara Ballayachola, whose relationship to Kannara is not known and his wife Ponnemadevi figure in a record at Bapatla dated A.D. 1135.<sup>38</sup>

### Kama choda M and Tribhuvanamalla C.M. A.D. 1137-1151

Kama choda and his son Tribhuvanamalla probably ruled jointly as the records of both bear dates between A.D. 1137 and 1151. Kamachoda's record dated A.D. 1137 is at Konidena.<sup>39</sup> Three records<sup>40</sup> of the year at Konidena dated in the 15th year of Kullottunga II record gifts by Tirbhuvanamalla choda separately, in conjunction with Gonka II of the Velanandus and with his mudiseli Gundenapreggada. The

record of A.D. 1142 also at Konidena, mentions Kama and Tribhuvanamalla—father and son. In this Tribhuvanamalla is spoken of as the grandson of Raghavasvami of the solar race and of Karikalavamsa.<sup>41</sup> The military officers in Kammanadu, Mottavada and Gundikarta and Ketana Peggada figure in the records of Tribhuvanamalla dated A.D. 1147 from Konidena.<sup>42</sup> In A.D. 1048 Kamidevi, daughter of King Nalla and Vennamba and queen of Tribhuvanamalla, made grants at Konidena.<sup>43</sup> The Velaparla record<sup>44</sup> dated A.D. 1148 on the 16th year of Kulottunga II and the Kanamarlapudi epigraph also of the same date for the 4th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulottunga is a mistake for the 16th year record grants by Tribhuvanamalla<sup>45</sup>. In the same year, the king made further grants and his son Nannichida for the merit of parents.<sup>46</sup> The next record<sup>47</sup> is dated A.D. 1149, recording gifts by Konaliya Anna identical with Annayapreggada, figuring in the Draksharama inscription of A.D. 1149 and the 17th year of Kulottunga II.<sup>48</sup> Tribhuvanamalla's Bapatla record is dated A.D. 1150 and the 4th year of Rajaraja.<sup>49</sup> It mentions him as the ruler of Kammanadu, Gundikarru and Mottavadi. The last inscription is from Bapatla dated A.D. 1151 mentioning Viddenamalla, his rajadhyaksha and sarvadhayaksha.<sup>50</sup>

### **Their Political Relations**

Kama choda is mentioned as Pottapi kama and Tribhuvanamalla as Tribhuvanamalladeva Pottapi C.M. and Tribhuvanamalla deva C.M. in records. Kamachoda is not heard of after A.D. 1148, and probably from that year Tribhuvanamalla associated Nannichoda in the governance of the kingdom.

### **Tribhuvanamalla and the Cholas**

The contemporary chola emperors were Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, to whom the loyalty of Kama and Tribhuvanamalla is attested by their records dated in the emperor's regnal years. Tribhuvanamalla's records dated A.D. 1115 mention the 15th year Kulottunga II evidently a mistake for the 5th year. His Valaparla record is dated in the 16th year of Kulottunga and

the 4th year in the Konamupudi inscription is a mistake for the 16th year. His Draksharama inscription of A.D. 1149 is dated in the 17th year of Kulottunga II. Two of his records at Bapatla dated A.D. 1150 and 1151 are dated in the 47th year of Rajaraja II. This series of inscriptions speaks for the complete restoration of the Chola power in Vengi. whereas the Draksharama epigraph in Kannara's reign is dated in C.V. era,<sup>51</sup> in this reign, record at Draksharama is dated in Kulottunga's reign—a point signifying complete change of masters over Vengi.

### **Tribhuvanamalla and the Chalukyas of Kalyani**

The contemporaries of Tribhuvanamalla at Kalyani were Somesvara III and Jagadekamalla II. About A.D. 1139 the Western Chalukyas power in Vengi suffered a final reverse with which disappeared all signs of Chalukya sway in Vengi. Probably Kama, Tribhuvanamalla and Nannichoda participated in this war on the side of the Cholas,

### **Tribhuvanamalla and the Velanandu Chodas**

Gonka II was the contemporary of Tribhuvanamalla. Both were on terms of friendship as they together made a grant at Kondidena in A.D. 1137.<sup>52</sup> Tribhuvanamalla must have helped Gonka II in his fight with the Chalukyas on the Godavari (A.D. 1139). Besides in A.D. 1149, Gundaya Amarana, all located in the Velanandu kingdoms.

### **Tribhuvanamalla and the other Kings**

Tribhuvanamalla bore the titles—Tenkanaditya, Jagadobbaganda, destroyer of enemies and the best among kings. The great grandfather of minister Anna was a subordinate of Andhranaresvara.<sup>53</sup> This Andhranaresvara probably refers to the Eastern Chalukyas Rajaraja Inarendra while Konidena was the capital, Pottapi formed part of the name of Tribhuvanamalla, perhaps a reminiscence of its former importance as the capital of these Cholas.

A record at Mannepalle<sup>54</sup> dated A.D. 1145 brings to light

a Telugu chola family whose relationship to Tribhuvanamalla is not known. Mahamandalesvara Ballichoda M, was the son of Kama, grandson of Venka and great grandson of Nannichoda. Kama is described as a great warrior and Ballichoda bore the usual prasasti and is described as a moon to the ocean i.e. Solar race.

### Nannichoda II A.D. 1151-1160

Nannichoda was the eldest son of Tribhuvanamalla by Machaladevi while his second son was Kannaradeva. Nannichoda's earliest record is from Konidena dated A.D. 1151.<sup>55</sup> Kannara figures in the Chennupalli agranara inscription of A.D. 1153.<sup>56</sup> Another record<sup>57</sup> of the year gives the descent of Sridevi, mother of Tribhuvanamalla. Queen Tondidevi of the lunar race, wife of the king name lost, was the grand daughter of Jatachoda. Vijayadityadeva—Andhradhipati was the maternal uncle of Kamachoda, a descendant of Karikala. And Sridevi was the daughter-in-law of Vijaya and sister-in-law of Choda. Nannichoda's father Tribhuvanamalla figures in a record of A.D. 1153.<sup>58</sup> In A.D. 1159, Nannichoda made grants at Konidena. In A.D. 1176, a grant was made in the reign of Kannaradeva etc.<sup>59</sup> Two undated records<sup>60</sup> at Konidena, mention Gudimeda Anna, the Mahamatya of Nannichoda.

### His Political Relations

Nannichoda's rule ended by A.D. 1160. Choda Ballaya, Ballichoda and the two brothers—Nannichoda, Kannaradeva and Srichoda, were issuing records till A.D. 1176, Nannichoda does not seem to have owed allegiance to emperor Rajaraja II of the Cholas. Neither did he come into conflict with the Chalukyas in freindship with him. The Kakatiya rulers in this period was Rudradeva I who invaded Vengi in this period though not with much success.

Vijaya or Vijayadityadeva—Andhradhipati, related to Sriyadevi queen of Tribhuvanamalla probably refers to Vijayaditya VII of the Chalukyas of Vengi. Here Andhradhipati is same as Andhranaresvara<sup>61</sup> of an earlier record referring to Rajaraja I Narendra.

The predecessors of minister Anna served some of the important dynasties in south India. The genealogy is as follows<sup>62</sup> Brahma, son of Vishnu, had a son Marichi, whose son was Kasyapa, Kaduvetti Surya of his lineage received Rattabhutalapuram from Mukkanti Kaduvetti. His younger brother Kuppana got Kranja from king Vishnuvardhana. Kuppana's son was Rudra whose son was Gunda who got Gundimada in Kandravadi from King Karayilladata. Gunda's sons were—Dommana, Chamena, Kama and Bhimana. Of these, Dommana by Kosamamba had three sons—Uttama, Gundena and Raghava. Of them Gunda, by Kuppambika had two sons—Anna and Kesava. Gunda was the minister of Tribhuvanamalla and Anna Nannichoda II. Of the kings mentioned, Kukanti Kaduvetti is Trilochanapallava, a semi mythical personage, Satyasraya is a Western Chalukya ruler, Vishnuvardhana, is a Vengi Chalukyas ruler. Karayilladata is unidentified, and Tribhuvanamalla and Nannichoda are Telugu Chodas of Konidena.

Some other Telugu Cholas heard of in this period were—Nannichoda, Kannaradeva and Srichoda figuring in the Boppudi record<sup>63</sup> of A.D.1157. This record mentions Balla, Kamachoda, Karikala, Vijayaditya, Machana and Anna. A king entitled Pidugaraditya and his wife Tribhuvanamahadevi were the parents of the three brothers—the donors. Besides the Charanasarorura prasasti they bore the new prasasti beginning with Svasti Samadhigata etc. Chodaballaya C.M., his son Kamachoda and his daughter-in-law Sriyadevi figures in a Konidena inscription.<sup>64</sup> Balli C.M. of the Mannepalle inscription of A.D. 1166, has been identified with Ballichoda,<sup>65</sup> son of Venka figures in the Mannepalli inscription of A.D. 1145. From the Peddacharukur inscription,<sup>66</sup> another family of the Telugu Cholas is known. Chodaballi is the first historical member of this line. His son was Nannichoda whose son was Surabhupa, Sura's son was Rajarajabhupati. His brother was king Ghatenkara whose son by Choda Mahadevi Mallideva. Mallideva's son by Mahadevi was Nannichoda whose son by Gangadevi was Mallideva.

**Kammana Choda A.D. 1110-1187**

Kama Choda is heard of from A.D. 1162 when his wife and father made grants. In A.D. 1187, he granted Nannuuru<sup>67</sup> to the local deity. He bore the common Telugu chola prasasti. Probably his rule lasted till A.D. 1211, the earliest date for his successor Nannichoda. The want of Telugu chola records from A.D. 1187 to 1211 was probably due to the reason that the country was subject to the expeditions of the Kakatiyas—Rudradeva I and Ganapati.

**Balli Choda A.D. 1211-1222**

Balli Choda's relationship to his predecessor Kamachoda is not known. His next record is from Uppinagalur dated A.D. 1211.<sup>68</sup> His earliest record is from Ramavairu dated A.D. 1212 recording gifts by chola deva C.M., son of Kamaya entitled Jagadobbaganda, Kirtinarayana and lord of Orayur.<sup>69</sup> Three records at Nannuru,<sup>70</sup> Ponnurur and Konidena mention Jagalachola Ballaya C.M. and Choda deva C.M. Ballayachoda bore the titles—Kirtinarayana and Jagadobbaganda. We do not know the relationship of Balli choda to these princes as well as the duration of his reign.

By the time of Balli choda, the power of the Konidena cholas had declined. The Valanandu Kingdom was under its last ruler Prithvisvara. Ganapati of the Kakatiyas was attempting to subdue the local dynasties in Nengi. On the death of Prithvisvara, Ganapati conquered the Velanandu country and so also probably the kingdom of the Konidena cholas. For the Konidena kingdom acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas by A.D. 1222<sup>71</sup> for a record of that year at Konidena registers a grant by Ballasani to the local Sankaresvara temple for the merit of Ganapatideva M.

**A.D. 1222-1224**

During the period of twenty-seven years after Kama and prior to Kannara deva i.e. A.D. 1224-1249, no Konidenachola records are available. The rulers at Nellore and Pottapi were Tikka I and Opilssiddhi's record dated A.D. 1224 is at Konidena. The Chagis were Pota II and Dora III and Ganapati,

the partition of the Kota kingdom was effected in this period, Rudra I of the Natavadis, Kusumaraja and Bhima of the Parichchidis, Odayaraja, Nagadeva, Abhideva Malideva and Viragandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas, Madhava of the Yadavas, were some of the other rulers in this period. Opili-siddhi's record <sup>72</sup> might indicate his occupation of the Konidena chola kingdom for a while.

Mahamandalesvara Mallideva C.M. is heard of from an inscription at Bollvarapadu dated A.D. 1227.<sup>73</sup> He is different from his namesake. The bearer of the titles, lord of Kandukur, ruler of Pakanadu 21,000 villages and the donor in the Paddacherukur inscription. Ganapati of the Kakatiyas is mentioned in the record. His minister Bakrumanayaka figures in a record at Kopparapadu<sup>74</sup> (Ongole taluq). These Cholas are not related to the Konidena line.

### Kannaradeva A.D. 1249-1280

Kannara was the last of the Konidena cholas. His earliest record is from Nanduru dated A.D. 1249 in the reign of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas, recording gifts by Sura, the minister of Kannaradeva M, the commander of the King.<sup>75</sup> This is confirmed by a Nandalur inscription<sup>76</sup> mentioning Manuradeva, as the general of Ganapati. Kannara's next record is from Prattipadu dated A.D. 1280 mentioning his minister Padmanabha.<sup>77</sup>

### His Political Relations

Kannara was probably identical with his namesake vanquished by Jilla, an ancestor of General Jaya in the service of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas.<sup>78</sup> This defeat of Kannara must have taken place before A.D. 1249 - the date of his first record. Kannaradeva, the ancestor of Mummadi Bhima of the reign of Rajaraja II, and the ruler of the country from the Himalayas to the Setu,<sup>79</sup> was evidently an ancestor of this Kannarachola; and is identical with Kannaradeva CM, of the Peddakancherla inscription<sup>80</sup> dated A.D. 1159, recording a grant by his minister Nallapreggada. This Kannara was the son of Tribhuvanamalla with the latest date A.D. 1176.

Mahamandalesvara Pandillappali Kannaradevaraju is heard of from a record at Jagarlamudi (Bapatla taluq) dated A.D. 1273.<sup>81</sup> Probably he was a subordinate of king Kannara. The relationship of mahamandalesvara Nanedeva ruling from Nellore<sup>82</sup> in A.D. 1275 to Kannara is not known.

### Decline

No sons and successors of Kannara are heard of. So the line of the Konidena cholas ended with him.

### The Telugu Cholas of Pottapi

Another branch of the Telugu cholas ruled Renadu—Cuddappah tracts for nearly two centuries with capital at Pottapi near Tangutur (Pullampet taluq). Six rulers of the line are known. The sources for the history of the Pottapi cholas are few compared with those of the Konidena and Nellore cholas. These cholas owed allegiance to the Imperial Cholas and the Western Chalukyas and were subsequently conquered by the Kakatiyas. They won some important military victories.

### Origin and Rise

Karikala is considered to be the originator of the Pottapi and Nellore cholas. The Konidena inscription of Opilipiddhi II, dated 1224<sup>83</sup> gives the complete genealogy of the line. Chodabijjana alias Telugu Bijjana was born in the lineage of Karikala. He claims to have fought many battles in which he was victorious and 'cut off the heads of enemy kings. The record says that when he fought the snake which accompanied king Ballaha, the latter gave him his bone. By killing thirteen heroes in the camp, Bijjana, acquired the title Padumu varagandadu. He bore the epithets Jayadobbaganda, gandara-ganda, and virakhani and was praised by people as Ganda-gopala. Malladeva, grandson of Telugu Bijjana ruled at Pottapai.<sup>84</sup> So the son of Telugu Bijjana whose name is not known was the first historical member of the Pottapi line.

## Barly Members

Mahamandalesvara Pinamallideva C.M. bearing the usual prasasti is heard of from a record<sup>85</sup> stated A.D.1023 mentioning the grant of Chagallu in Kammanadu to God at Bapatla. Rama Choda M was ruling at Pottapi in A.D. 1099 in which year the mahajana of Pottapi and Gadusuballi made some grants.<sup>86</sup>

## Bettarasa A.D. 1121-1125

Bettarasa had a reign of nearly five years. In A.D. 1122 and the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman alias chakravartin Srivikrama chola deva, mahamandalesvara Bettarasa ruling Pottapinadu made a grant for the success of the king's arms at Nandalur<sup>87</sup> Bettarasa's identification with Beta I of the Nellore cholas cannot be justified on chronological ground.<sup>88</sup> In A.D. 1125 Bettarasa was succeeded by Vimaladitya MPC.

## His Political Relations

Atyana chola ruling Renadu was a contemporary. If Bettarasa and a subordinate of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas. His father Sevena C.M. bore a long prasasti some epithets attesting his capacity as a warrior. Sevena's emblem was a lion (simha lanchana) and his flag has the peacock's tail figure on it. In A.D. 1124, Krodhin and C.V. 46 (49) in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Chiddana C.M.—a subordinate of Atyana Chola and the ruler of Renadippattuie Renadu 70 district granted Mudivemu to 108 mahajanas of the place.<sup>89</sup> A feudatory of the Chiddana C.M. is mentioned in a record from Peddmudiyam in (Jammalamudygu taluq) Atyana chola bore the Cuddapah chola titles, and it has been said that he perhaps belonged to the family of the Chola Maharajas<sup>90</sup> Betta and Atyana owing allegiance to the cholas and the chalukyas respectively, were ruling Pottapinadu and Renadu, and do not seem to have come into conflict with each other.

## Vimaladitya A.D. 1125

Mahamandalesvara Vimaladityadeva was the son of Siddharasa ruler of Pottapi and was called M.P.C. His earliest

record is from Nandalur dated A.D. 1135 and the 8th year of Tirbhuvana chakravarti Srivikrama choladeva and registers his grant of a village for the success of the king's arms.<sup>91</sup> His next record is from Kalahasti dated in the 11th year of Vikrama chola mentioning him as Vimaladittan alias M.P.C., son of Siddhiyarasan of Pottapi chola family.<sup>92</sup> Another record at Kalahasti dated in the 6th year of Rajaraja, mentions Vimaladevan, the younger brother of Malamadevarasar.<sup>93</sup> Vimaladityadeva M.P.C., son of Siddharasa, made a further gift at Nandalur.<sup>94</sup> In a record at Nandalur—with date inaccessible—mahamandalesvara M.P.C. Siddharasa, father of Vimaladitya is mentioned as ruling Pottapinadu.<sup>95</sup> Somisvara, son of Vimaladitya, figures in a record at Nandalur.<sup>96</sup>

Thus M.P.C. Siddharasa, his two sons Vimaladitya and Mallamadevarasa, and Vimaladitya's son Somisvara constitute three generations of the Pottapichola rulers. Siddharasa's identification with Siddhi the elder brother of Betta I of the Nellore cholas has been suggested.<sup>97</sup> In the 8th year of Virarajakesari chakravartin Kulottunga II (A.D. 1130) M.P.C. Siddharasa ordered the settlement of the boundaries of lands belonging to Kulottunga Solavinnagar in Kullottungasolachaturvedimangalam, the agarabrahmadeya of Nirandanur.<sup>98</sup> The identity of this Siddha with Siddha, father of Vimaladitya is doubtful.<sup>99</sup>

Vimaladitya's allegiance to emperor Vikrama chola is attested by his records dated in his regnal years. His loyalty to Rajaraja II is seen from his record dated in the 6th year. The Chola topographical name and the language used in records—Tamil—are a further asset to the loyalty of the Pottapi cholas to the cholas.

### **Trailokyamalla Mallideva A.D. 1130**

Trailokyamalla Mallideva was ruling Muliki 300 district and Sindavadi 1000. His record at Chilamakur dated C.V.56.<sup>100</sup> (A.D. 1132-33) is followed by his Pushpagiri inscription<sup>101</sup> dated A.D. 1139 mentioning the king as Trailokyamalla Malladeva Maharaja ruling from his capital Vallur.<sup>102</sup>

Mallideva was a subordinate of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

His record dated in C.V. era attests to his allegiance to the contemporary Chalukya emperor Bhulakamalla Somesvara III.

### **Mallideva I**

Mallideva's relationship to his predecessor Trailokyamalla is not known. He ruled at Pottapi. The Konidena record<sup>103</sup> says that he was ruling Pakanadu 21,000 conquered the Pallava armies and destroyed their elephants. This victory of Mallidena was evidently over the Telugu Pallavas, some of whom were ruling in Cuddapah in this period. The epigraphist says<sup>104</sup> that Mallideva conquered the army of Ballaha but does not give his source of information. Mallideva had two titles—protector of earth and vanquishers of enemy kings.

### **M.P.C Siddhi**

Siddhi, also known as Pottapi Siddhi<sup>105</sup> succeeded his father Mallideva I as the ruler of Pottapi. He had two sons—Pattapi Somesvaradeva and Mallideva III, who are described as the rulers of earth. This Siddhi was succeeded by two sons who ruled conjointly.

### **Somisvara and Mallideva III 1157**

Somisvara and Mallideva of the Konidena record are mentioned as Malladeva and Somadeva—as the kings of the province Pottapinadu in the Kaifiyat of Nemalladine.<sup>106</sup> A record at Pattapuravi also refers to Malladeva, and Somadeva.<sup>107</sup> Mallasomesvara is mentioned as the successor of Malladeva and Somadeva to the Pottapi kingdom. Probably son of Mallideva was the crown prince in this period.

### **Their Political Relations**

Whether Somisvara and Mallideva acknowledged Chola or Chalukya suzerainty is not seen from any records. Their Velanandu choda contemporary was Choda II. What political relationship the Pottapi cholas had towards him, we do not know. But the Cholas of Nellore were the enemies of Somisvara and Mallideva III. The

Nemalladinne Kaifiyat says that Malla Somesvara was defeated by Nallasiddhi of Nellore at the confluence of the rivers Penna and Bahu.<sup>108</sup> This is confirmed by the Dongalasani epigraph dated A.D. 1159 in the reign of Bhujabalavira Nallasiddhanadeva C.M. of Nellore recording his victories over Mallideva and Somesvara—the rulers of Pottapi.<sup>109</sup> The Pottapurarvi inscription<sup>110</sup> (Siddhavatam taluq) mentions that after rule of Malladeva, and Somadeva, Nallasidha of Nellore, having conquered as stated in A.D. 1159 governed it. The Dongalasani record<sup>111</sup> adds that Kumarapreggada, in the reign of Nallasidha of Nellore, provided for festivals at Srisailam and its four entrances on the occasion of his father's conquest of Pottapi.

Thus in A.D. 1159 the armies of Nallasiddhi under the command of Kamana Peggada's father invaded Pottapichola dominions, were opposed by Somadeva, Malladeva and Mallasomesvara at the confluence of the Penna and Bahu (i.e. Cheyyeru). The Pottapi cholas suffered a defeat and Nallasiddhi was victorious<sup>112</sup> and appointed men to govern the province. Evidently Somesvara and Malladeva had to recognize Nallasiddhi's suzerainty.

### Mallideva IV

To Malla or Mallideva entitled Jagatapi implying his conquest of Gutti, the younger brother of M P.C. Siddhi, were born Tondiya, Opilisiddhi and Mallideva. Just as Mallideva was born to Pottapi Somisvara, this Mallideva was born to Opilisiddhi. Mallideva bore the epithets—Pottapi chodavasa-sekhara, of solar race and destroyer of enemies.<sup>113</sup> Like his ancestors, he is said to have ruled the world with capital at Pottapi. To him by queen Gannidevi, as a result of their penances was born Opilisiddhi. Mahamandalesvara Kirtiraja Mallideva C.M. figuring in the Vipparla record<sup>114</sup> dated A.D. 1199 was different from Mallideva IV though contemporaneous with him. Similarly Mallideva IV cannot be identified with Mallideva of Peddacherukur record,<sup>115</sup> who was the son of Nanni choda and whose ancestry differs widely from that of Mallideva IV.

## His Political Relations

Mallideva ruled in the latter part of the 12th century A.D. His contemporaries among the cholas of Nellore were M.P.C. Siddhi I (1175-1192 A.D.), and Nallasiddhi I (A.D. 1187-1214). Nallasiddhi claim to have been ruling Cuddapah tracts with capital at Vallur and levied tribute from Mandri by A.D. 1192.<sup>116</sup> Probably Mallideva owed allegiance to the Nellore cholas.

## Opilisiddhi A.D. 1224

Opilisiddhi was the younger brother of Vinnasiddhana. Some of his epithets were—Ornament of Chodakula, Gandagopala, Obeyer of the commands of Tenkanachakravarti, Lord of Orayur, of solar lineage, Tenkanaditya, Jagadobbaganda and Kirti narayana.<sup>117</sup> Opilisiddhi conquered Kammanadu, secured the favour of king Ganapati and with his permission ruled the 6000 countries with capital at Kotyadona i.e. Konidena. In A.D. 1224, he granted Mogallacheruvu to Sankaresvara at Kotyadna for the merit of Ganapatideva.

## His Political Relations

Mahamandalesvara Opilisiddhanadeva C.M. mentioned thus in his only record, extended his kingdom. In effecting his conquest of Kammanadu, he must have come into conflict and defeated the Konidena cholas. Probably Balli Choda (A.D. 1211-1222) was the ruler who was vanquished by Opilisiddhi. It is likely that Opilisiddhi ruled Kammanadu—the Konidena chola kingdom till A.D. 1280—the earliest date for his successor Rajadeva. This gains support from the fact that from A.D. 1211 to 1249 no Konidena cholas are heard of.

Opilisiddhi ruled the Aruvelu country as a subordinate of Ganapati. This must have come about thus—As Ganapati of the kakatiyas, conquered the 6000 countries i.e. Velanandu or Shat Sahasra, from the Velanandu chodas by this time, he entrusted it to Opilisiddhi. Prior to this, Opilisiddhi was subdued by Ganapati and was appointed as his representative at Pottapi, Pakanadu Kammanadu and Velanandu tracts.

Opilisiddhi calls himself as obeyer of the commands of Tenkana Chakravarti. If Tenkana chakravarti—emperor of the south—refers to the Cholas emperor Rajaraja III, it comes to that Opilisiddhi acknowledge Cholas supremacy. More probably, the epithet refers to 'the contemporary Pandyan emperor—Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1216-1238) under whom the Pandyan empire was extending for into the north—upto Nellore.<sup>118</sup> Plenty of Pandyan inscriptions are found in Nandalur, Lepaka, Attirala and other places in the Pottapi chola kingdom. Probably, Opilisiddhi suffered a reverse in Pandyan hands and consequently acknowledged Pandyan suzerainty. His tittle—Tenkanaditya i.e. seem to the South is hereditary borne by some of the Telugu cholas of Konidena or got by him after his conquest of Kammanadu.

#### Later Members

The direct line ended with Opilisiddhi II as no sons of his are heard of. Mahamandalesvara Vallur Maharaja Rajadevan bearing several titles figuring in a record at Conjeevaram, dated in the 14th year of Rajaraja III<sup>119</sup> (A.D. 1230) was probably the successor of Opilisiddhi II.

#### Bhimadeva Kesavadeva A.D. 2231-1235

It has been suggested<sup>120</sup> that Bhimadeva Kesavadeva was a descendant of Opilisiddhi II. He was the son of Chodadeva maharaja and Kalyana mahadevi. He owed allegiance to Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. In A.D. 1231, he made a grant at Ponnuru by the favour of Ganapati deva.<sup>121</sup> His record of A.D. 1235 also at Ponnur, records the apportionment of land formerly granted to him by Anugudeva Maharaja with the consent of Ganapatideva.<sup>122</sup> Thus Bhimadeva Kesavadeva ruled as a feudatory of the Kakatiyas. His records later than A.D. 1235 are not known. His reign too, falls in the period of interrugnem in the Konidena chola kingdom.

From a record at Poturu dated A.D. 1234<sup>123</sup> M.P.C. his son, Brahmayadeva and grandson Manumayadeva C.M. are heard of. In the Andapur inscription of A.D. 1334 mentions Puluputturi and Brahmayadeva C.M. bearing a ordinary charanasororuha prasasti claiming lordship over Kanchi and his son

Manumayadeva. Obviously Brahamaya and Manuma of the two records are identical. Apratimalla Ganapatideva C.M. and his son Ahoblesvara are heard of from a record at Goturu dated A.D. 1420.<sup>124</sup> This Ganapati is probably identical with Apratimalla Gangayadeva C.M. who was ruling in A.D. 1397 and was the donor of a grant in a record of the era at Gotur.<sup>125</sup> If so, he was exercising local sway about Goturu towards the close of the 14th century and the beginning of 15th century. Accepting this, Ahobalesvara is same as Aubalayyadeva C.M. who must have begun his rule in A D 1421<sup>126</sup> In A.D. 1467, Malladeva C.M. granted a village to Brahmins.<sup>127</sup> By A.D. 1489 Purushottama of the Gajapatis, definitely made himself the master of the Telugu Choda country. Pakanadu near Puttakota dated A.D. 1489 is Pakanati choda mahamandalesvara.<sup>128</sup> Thus till the close of the 15th century A.D. when the country came under the Gajapatis, some Telugu chola princes were found ruling in Pottapinadu.

### The Telugu Cholas of Nellore A.D. 1100-1350

The branch of the Nellore cholas was the most predominant of all the Telugu cholas. Twelve rulers of the line ruled for a period of over two centuries and at times their kingdom extended over the major part of Andhra land and beyond into the Hoysala, Telugu Pallava and the Imperial Chola kingdoms. The Nellore cholas were generally subordinate of the Cholas emperors in the earlier and the Kakatiyas in the later stages. But they were practically independent for all purposes. The power of these Cholas increased towards the close of the Velanandu rule and they had a very significant part to play in the political history of South India of the 13 century A.D.

### The Sources

Records—stone and Copper plate—in all important south Indian scripts and languages—Telugu, Sanskrit, Tamil, Grantha and Mannada and literature mostly Telugu and recorded tradition—all of the Nellore cholas from the main source of their history. Records of the contemporary dynasties—the cholas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas and the Velanandu chodas,

containing references to these cholas and their literature and tradition chiefly in Telugu and the records of the feudatory dynasties owing allegiance to these cholas form the subsidiary sources.

### Origin and Rise

In the lineage of Karikala was born Madhurantuka Pottapichola, his name indicating his conquest of Madhura and the founding of Pottapi<sup>129</sup> in the Andhra country. In his race was born Telugu Vidya or Bijja, the creator of a pillar of victory with the figure of a Garuda at the top of it at Ujyapuri.<sup>130</sup> Bijja, a Yama to his enemies, killed the twelve men of Ballaha along with him in the capital and got the title—Padumuvaraganda.<sup>131</sup> The achievements of M.P.C. and Telugu Vidya are referred in the assumption ‘that one of these Telugu cholas should have extended his conquests beyond the Kaveri if another boasts to have taken Madura’<sup>132</sup>

### Siddhi alias Manmasiddhi I A D. 1175-1192

The first historical member of the Nellore Cholas line after Telugu Bijjana was king Siddhi. His earliest record is from Kalahasti dated in the 12th year of Rajadhiraja II i.e. A.D. 1175 recording a grant by his pradhani talaiyari Taminayakanpudi Bhiman.<sup>133</sup> His next record is from Kovur<sup>134</sup> (Kovur taluq, Nellore district) registering a royal grant in A.D. 1190 and the 14th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulottunga choladeva. The editors of the Nellore inscriptions think that the regnal year must be the 12th.<sup>135</sup> The name of the king in the Tamil portion is partly damaged—M P.C. alias—Ariyar. The epigraphist suggests<sup>136</sup> that the king's full name in the record was probably M.P.C. Manumasiddha and in support of it refers to an undated inscription<sup>137</sup> in Nellore where M.P.C Manumasiddhi-rasa is mentioned as the donor giving Errampalle in Puginadu Nagarisvara at Nellore. This view has been confirmed by Professor Sastri.<sup>138</sup> Siddhi's record from Pottapi bears no date and belongs to the reign of Kulottunga III, and mentions—the king M.P.C. Sittiaraiyan.<sup>139</sup> A record of his son mentions him as Chodesvara.

## His Political Relations

Manmasiddha ruled for a period of eighteen years from A.D 1175 from his capital at Nellore. He is mentioned as Siddhi yaraiyar, M.P.C. Sittiaraiyan and M.P.C. Manumasiddharasa—in his records. He is described as the ruler of earth, destroyer of enemies and supporter of his subordinates. The account of Kota<sup>140</sup> mentions Siddhiraja among its rulers which speaks for his popularity. His younger brother Betta was a mighty warrior. The Tiruvorriapur Inscription<sup>141</sup> describes his valour in eloquent terms and calls him the crusher of thunderbolt whose flight was impelled by Sakra. Betta must have helped Siddhi in extending his kingdom.

Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III of the Cholas, Rudradeva I of the Kakatiyas Choda II, Gonka III and Prithvisvara of the Velanandus, Bhima II and Kota II of the Kotas, Sarngadhara I of the Yadavas, Vijayaditya and Allukikka of the Pallavas, Sattiyarasar of the Nagas. Nannichoda II and Kamana Choda and Mallidena IV of the Konidena and the Pottapi Cholas were contemporaneous with Siddha I. There is no evidence of Siddhi's having come into conflict with the Kakatiyas, the Velanandu choda, and the Chalukyas and Kalachuris of Kalyani. His allegiance to the Cholas is attested by his records dated in the regnal years of the emperors and the location of his kingdom as specified in his records. For Siddhi's capital Nellore is said to have been located in Pidnadu is Chedikulamanikkavalanadu,<sup>142</sup> which also appears as Chadikulavalanadu,<sup>143</sup> a sub-division of Jayangondacholamandalam. The comparison of Betta with Asani does not refer to any historical event and Asani does not refer to a person as mistaken by some writers.<sup>144</sup> The identification of Betta with Betta of the Pottapi cholas is untenable<sup>145</sup> on chronological grounds.

A Telugu cholas chief contemporary with Siddha was Kunamalaippadi Udiyan Atkondan Gangaikondan alias Pottappichchdan of Vennikkurrami in Suttamallivalanadu who made a grant in the 8th year of Rajadhiraja II at Tiruvarajuli<sup>146</sup> in Tanjore district. He was holding an office in the heart of the Tamil chola country.

### Dayabhima and Nallasiddha I A.D. 1187-1214

Betta, the younger brother of Siddhi had three sons Dayabhima, Nallasiddha and Errasiddha. Dayabhima and Nallasiddha succeeded Siddhi on the throne and appear to have exercised joint sway. Their accession was probably due to that Siddhi had no sons. Dayabhima is said to have wrested the goddess of royal fortune from the enemies and ruled the kingdom<sup>147</sup> Nallasiddha's earliest record<sup>148</sup> is from Nellore dated in the 9th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1187) recording a grant to the local Manmasiddhisvara temple. His next inscription is<sup>149</sup> from Chandur (Produtur taluq) dated A.D. 1192 mentioning him as Bhujabalavira Nallasiddhanadeva C.M. ruling at Vallur, the capital of Maharajapadi 7000 and the districts of Renadu 70, Ranna 300 and other districts. An epigraph at Ramathirtham<sup>150</sup> mentions Bhujabala Mallasiddhi C.M. son of Chodasvara. Here obviously Mallasiddhi is a mistake for Nallasiddhi i.e. Nallasiddhi I as is clear from the epithet Bhujabala. So Chodasvara chief lord of Choda refers to Siddha I. Thus Nallasiddha and Dayabhima by their conquests extended their power as far as Kanchi and over the entire kingdom of the Cuddapah cholas.

The chronology and identification of Nallasiddha is one of the controversial topics in the Telugu chola history. The Epigraphist places Nallasiddha after Tammu Siddha, which is wrong for in the words of Professor Sastri "It is not easy to accept Venkaya's statement as the former (Nallasiddha) appears to have been a contemporary of Kulottunga III from his 27th to 35th year it is clear that he must have come after Tammusiddhi."<sup>151</sup> When there is no mention of Tammasiddhi earlier than s 1127 i.e. roughly 27th year of Kulottunga III while Nallasiddhi figures in many earlier inscriptions." Besides Nallasiddha, son of Errasiddha.

### Bhima and Nallasiddha and their Political Relations

The three warrior brothers—Dayabhima, Nallasiddha and Errasiddhi extended and protected their subordinates. The Tiruppasur inscription<sup>152</sup> implies Nallasiddhi's position of Kanchi

when it says—that the southern quarter had obtained him as her husband—she lost galitakancuguna—lost her girdle or lost Kanchi. About this achievement of Nallasiddha, Professor Sastri says thus “There are some inscriptions of Nallasiddha which seem to throw some light on the period when he declared independance.”<sup>153</sup> Nallasiddhi’s ellegiance to the Chola emperor Kulottunga III is evidenced from the records upto A.D. 1192 where as in the record of that year, the suzerain is not mentioned and further in claims to have levied date from Kanchi. His record from Akkampeta (Gudur taluq) dated 1105 which may be 1105 (A.D. 1183) contains the expression Kappam.....” and registers a grant for the merit of Mahamandalesvara—Rajabala—Nallasiddhanadeva C.M.<sup>154</sup> The record is damaged parts. “Except the fact of Kulottunga undertaking a campaign to he closed by entering Kanchi in force, there is no evidence in support of this claim of the Telugu Choda Chieftain...perhaps this is on the part of Nallasiddha to have levied tribute from Kanchi those only that for some time he stopped the usual tribute to chola monarch and was still in undisturbed possession of Kanchi. whosoever that may be, Nallasiddha’s career as an independent ruler soon cut short by Kulottunga’s occupation of Kanchi about A.D. 1196 the success of Kulottunga’s enterprise is attested not only as inscriptions which state that he entered Kanchi with his unabated”,<sup>155</sup> but also by the series of inscriptions dated in Kulottunga’s regnal years. Thus “Nallisiddha found it possible to act like an independent king in A.D. 1183-1192, when Kulottunga was pre-engaged in the Panyan campaigns.”<sup>156</sup> Here may be noted that “Venkayya was inclined to distinguish between Bhujabavira Nallasiddhana deva C.M. of this inscription and Nallasiddha, the son of Errasiddha,”<sup>157</sup> on the basis of Nallasiddha’s later records and the references in Tammusiddha’s records to Nallasiddha, brother of Errasiddha. But as has been proved by Professor Sastri that nephew Nallasiddha was the author of all the Bhujabalavira records including that of A.D.1192 i.e. the conqueror of Kanchi was a single person—Nallasiddha known from records ranging from A.D. 1183 or still earlier to A.D. 1214.<sup>158</sup>

Nallasiddha’s enemies at Vallur were the Pottapi Cholas

and his power in the reign is attested by his record at Chandur and rule from Vallur. Nallasiddha and his brothers did not come into conflict with the kakatiyas, the Velanandu chodas and other kings of the time.

### **Errasiddha A.D. 1195-1217**

Errasiddha succeeded Dayabhima and Nallasiddha about A.D. 1195 and ruled for a period of twenty-two years. His earliest record is from Chirmana<sup>159</sup> (Atmakur taluq) dated in the 18th year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti evidently Kulottunga III recording the grant of Serudinai in Ayadipattanadu in Jayankondacholamandalam by Gollapudinayakkar. His next record<sup>160</sup> is from Mahimalur (Atmakur taluq) dated A.D. 1217 mentioning a grant by Bomminayaka—the younger brother of Gollapudi Biyyapanayaka, the protector of the kingdom of Errasiddha and the bearer of a prasasti beginning with Svasti samastaguna. Another record at Kolturupalle<sup>161</sup> (Rapur taluq) of Errasiddha's reign, undated mentions gifts by his servant Narapasahini. Bhimanyakaudu bearing Ripuvidalanavira and Atakuri puravaradhisvara. Errasiddha's record<sup>162</sup> from Navur (Atmakur taluq) mentions his subordinates. Haribairapanayaka, Ammanayaka and Pahindanayaka—all of Gandavarampadu.

### **His Political Relations**

Errasiddha was variously known as Errasiddhisvara,<sup>163</sup> Bujabalavira Errasiddhanadeya C.M., Errasiddhi C.M. and Rajadhiraja Parankusalava (?) Proshi Errasiddhiraja and simply andandagopala.<sup>164</sup> Some of his titles are—Yaroyuripuravaradhisvara, diyadimandalakadisapalla vairipurarati, Kirti-adrayana, ayyanasingha, sahasottunga, Kanchi puravaradhi-avara, Kanchimgappamu<sup>165</sup> tinna and so forth.

Errasiddha's loyalty to the chola emperor Kulottunga III is attested by his records dated in the regnal year of the emperor and the specification of the location of his kingdom in them. For instance, Mahimalur was mentioned as the capital of Tonkakudurunadu in Tiruvadikavalillu (?) in Pankanadu. Some of his epithets show that he was a great warrior, destroyer of relative enemy provincial chiefs, and their cities and

the levier of tribute from Kanchi. As Nallasiddha conquered Kanchi and levied tribute from it, evidently Errasiddhi must have participated in that war and held Kanchi under his sway in his reign.

Errasiddha's three sons by Sri devi—Manmasiddhi, Betta and Tammusiddha were great heroes and with them Errasiddha is said to have shone like Trinetra with his three eyes.<sup>166</sup> The members of the Gollapudi family were in the service of Errasiddhi. The identity of Bamminayaka with Bhiminayaka has been suggested and that he may have succeeded his brother in the post of commander-in-chief.<sup>167</sup> Some of the titles of Bhiminayaka were of—Manmakula, Gandaraganda, Jagamechchuganda, Chodamakaharaja pratishtha Kshmachiti, and Prattikonda referred to in one of his epithets is probably his fief Bhima must have played an important role in the wars of Errasiddhi.

An M.P.C. and his subordinate acted as the agents of Rajamallayadevaraya alias Bhujabala Siddharasa in making grants of land According to Professor Sastri<sup>168</sup> Rajamalla was a feudatory of Errasiddhi. This shows that some of the Telugu chola princes were in the service of the Yadavarayas and suggests that the Cholas of Nellore and the Yadavarayas were on terms of alliance.

### Manumasiddhi II A.D. 1189-1210

Manumasiddhi, the eldest son of Errasiddha succeeded his father on the throne. He was a greather ruler than his predecessors, and Tikkana in his genealogy of Telugu cholas, after Telugu Bijja begins with Manmasiddha, Ketana, similarly begins the geneology with Manmasiddha and his queen Sridevi.<sup>169</sup> The Nandalur record dated A.D. 1257 and the 13th year of Virarajendra Chola deva in the geneological portion refers to Manmasiddha as Rajendra Manumasiddha.<sup>170</sup> The Kavali inscription<sup>171</sup> says that Nallasiddha, the eldest son of Errasiddha was anointed. Another record<sup>172</sup> also mentions Nallasiddharasa, as the son of Eramasiddhisvara. The identify of Manumasiddha with Nallasiddha has been proved by the epigraphist<sup>173</sup> and accepted by Professor Sastri, who says that

Errasiddhi's eldest son was Nallasiddha alias Manmasiddha. Sewell's identification of Nallasiddha with Betta II is unacceptable on more grounds than one. To quote professor Sastri "The number of Nallasiddhi's inscriptions and their provenance together with the claim of laying tribute from Kanchi imply such an active life for Nallasiddhi as to falsify completely the statement in the Tammusiddhi inscriptions regarding Betta's exclusive devotion to religious ansterties. On the other hand, if we identify Manmasiddha with Nallasiddha, the other statement in Tammusiddhi records that Manma was dead in A.D. 1205 must be declared to be wrong". Again, "if Beta was Nallsiddha who was anointed after Manma's demise, who was the author of the Nallasiddha inscriptions of which there are several, dating from A.D. 1192 if not earlier, some of which doubtless precede the death of Manma C A.D. 1205 ? There seems to be no means of reconciling all the statements in the Tammusiddhi records with the date furnished by the Nallasiddha records." And the Reddipalem epigraph dated A.D. 1214 : mentions Bachaladevi the queen of Manmasiddha in a manner that implies that Manma was still alive."

Manmasiddhi is spoken of as the ruler of the earth bounded by the ocean. His earliest record is from Chaganam (Rapur taluq) dated in the 23rd year of Kulottunga III mentioning him as Nallasiddharasan. His next record is from Nandalur dated in the 24th year of Kulottunga III recording a gift by Nukkamadevi, the queen of M.P.C. Nallasiddharasan. The record at Gumupadu dated in the 27th year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti (Kulottunga III) records M.P.C. Nallasiddharasa's grant of Vellur in Melaipattaiyanadu to the deity. The Nandalur epigraph of the 26th year of Kulottunga III, records Nallsiddhi's exemption of three villages from taxes. In the 27th year of Kulottunga III, Mayilamadevi Pattarasa, son of M.P.C. Nallasiddharasa made a grant at Mallam. The identity of this Bettarasa with M.P. Peddarasa of Tokapaligudur record (A.D 1204) mistaking the date to be A.D. 1214 has been suggested. Nallasiddha's record from Nellore dated in the 31st year of Kulottunga III records gifts to Pallikondaperumal at Triupparkodal by his follower Periyasittap-

panayakan. His last record is from Battepadu (Nellore District) dated in the 35 year of Kulottunga III. His record from Tirualangadu also of Kulottunga's reign mentions him as Manumasittiaraiyan and another undated record from Nellore recording grant of some land as kimvidaiyattam to the temple by Periyannattuvisayar, who met in Chittiramelinaantapa. This attests Chola suzerainty over the Telugu chola kingdom. Besides the names—Srikulottungachaturvedimangalam, applied to Nirendanur. Andappur, and Mantram—in the record of the 26th year of Kulottunga III and the specification of Nellore to have been located in Padanadu in Chadikulamanikkavalanadu in Jayamgondacholamandalam and Nellurnadu in Jayamgondacholamandalam speak for Manmasiddha's loyalty to the cholas.

But in two of his latter records, Manmasiddha does not mention Kulottunga III. And on the other claims to have levied tribute from Kanchi and assumed all the titles of Nallasiddha I mentioned in his Chanduru inscription. Manmasiddha's record from Dubagunta dated A.D. 1214 gives his prasasti mentioning the epithet Kanchimgappa Gonnatti. His Nanepedu inscription of A.D. 1217 gives Manmasiddhi's prasasti and mentions him as Viranallasiddharadeva C.M. So towards, the close of the reign of Kulottunga III, from A.D. 1214 onwards, Manmasiddha seems to have acted as an independent ruler, as his uncle Nallasiddha I did from A.D. 1183 to 1192 and was subdued like him by Rajaraja III. In the words of Professor Sastri. "The Bhujabalavira records are few and extend over practically the whole of Kulottunga's reign. I think that Nallasiddha, the son of Errasiddha is himself the author of these records the titles in which are indicative of his claim to independence. Such pretensions records could not be issued every day and were published whenever in the estimate of Nallasiddha, Kulottunga was too preoccupied to notice his action. Some such assumption would explain the factors of the Tummusiddhi records on the death of the eldest son of Errasiddha. If these assumptions are correct, we may distinguish two periods when Nallasiddha found it possible to act like an independent chief <sup>174</sup> (2) From A.D. 1214 towards the close of Kulottunga's reign when that monarch was ..

once more drawn into an encounter with the Pandyas". Thus, "in the last few years when the Chola monarch had to meet a powerful enemy in Marvarman Sundara Pandya, they (the Telugu chodas) seem to have made another and a more successful effort to assert their independence."<sup>175</sup>

Manmasiddha must have associated in governing the kingdom his brothers Betta I and Tammusiddhi, and sons. Tikka or Tirukalatti and Betarasa—the latter figuring in two records of Kulottunga's 27th and 29th years. The records of Nallasiddha I, Errasiddha and Tammusiddha are found in this period. The Arulala perumal inscription calls Manma a great ruler.<sup>176</sup> His kakatiya contemporary was Ganapati with whom he did not come into conflict.

Manmasiddha contracted alliances of marriage with the Rajaraja pattai chief the Naga rulers of Nellore, his contemporaries being Peddarasa (A.D. 1203-4) and Siddharasa (A.D. 1213-14). Queen Bachaladevi, wife of Manmasiddhi was the elder sister of Rajaraja pattai Sittarasan, figuring in a record of the 36th year of Tribhuvanavira, and daughter of Mattidenadesan, Rajarajupattai Bettarasan.<sup>177</sup> Besides Irumadi Sriyadevi, wife of Rajarajapattai Siddharasa, obviously the brother-in-law of Mamumasiddha, was the daughter of Uraiyr Cholan alias Suralvar Kittadevar,<sup>178</sup> probably a prince of the Telugu chola family of Nellore.

Prithvisvara of the Velanandu chodas, Allmtikka of the Telugu Pallavas, Madhavadeva of the Yadava, were contemporary with Manmasiddha's reign ended by A.D. 1205—the earliest date for Tammusiddhi. For the record<sup>179</sup> says that when he died the middle brother king Betta being given to the practice of ansterities conferred by the government on his younger brother Tammusiddhi. But as Manmasiddha's records dated A.D. 1210 are available, his death must have occurred after that year. So once again the evidence of Tammusiddha's records cannot be taken as correct wholly we may not have that Nallasiddha of the Telugu Pallavas in the Tiruppukkali record does not bear any relationship to our Nallasiddha alias Manmasiddha as has been mentioned,<sup>180</sup> though the Telugu Pallavas, the Yadavarayas and the Telugu cholas ruling

contemporaneously bore similar names e.g. Tirukalatti, Gandagopala, Manmasiddha, Nallasiddha and so forth.

### Tammusiddha A.D. 1205-1209

According to a record of his, Tammusiddha owed his crown to the abstention from royalty on the part of Betta II. His earliest inscription is from title Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1205 recording the grant of Muttiyampaka, the head quarters of Pantarashtra to the land of Hastisaila.<sup>181</sup> Giving his ancestry, the record states that Tammusiddha was crowned at Nellore. His next record<sup>182</sup> is from Tiruvalangadu dated A.D. 1207 recording a royal grant to the lord of Vatatavi. Another record<sup>183</sup> of A.D. 1207 and the 29th year of Kulottunga III from Tiruppasur records of the king's grant of revenues on some villages Kaivandur to the deity of Pasipur. The Tiruvorriyur and Tiruppalaivanam records<sup>184</sup> dated A.D. 1207 record royal gifts. In the same year at Kavali,<sup>185</sup> Tammusiddha in company with his mother Sridevi granted Sripura in Dudduravishaya as agrahara. The record from Nellore<sup>186</sup> dated A.D. 1249 and the 26th year of Kulottunga III mentions royal grants to Pallikondaperumbl. An undated record at Conjeevaram<sup>187</sup> mentions the king. A record at Nellore<sup>188</sup> with date partly damaged s 11, mentions Tammusiddhi and his ancestors—Kalikala chola and Beta.

### His Political Relations

Tammusiddhi had a brief reign of over five years. He is mentioned as M.P.C. Tammusiddharaiyar, Tammusiddhisvara and Rajadhiraja parmesvara Tammusiddhi in his records. The location of some of his records in the Tamil country, the language and script in them—Tamil and Grantha respectively and the records dated in the regnal years of Kulottunga III attest Tammusiddha's allegiance to the chola emperor and show the southward expansion of the Telugu chola emperor. In this period the Telugu Chola kingdom of Nellore not less than three rulers ruling simultaneously in parts of it and all recognising chola suzerainty as evidenced from their records dated in Kulottunga's regnal year for instance Errasiddhi (A.D.

1205-1210), Manmasiddha allis Nallasiddha (1178-1210) and Tammusiddha (A.D. 1215-1210), "But Kulottunga is seen fighting once more in the north some time about A.D. 1208. In this campaign, he claims to have subdued the fierce Vadugas (Telugus), established his supremacy over Vengi and entered Urangai."<sup>189</sup> Professor Sastri says, in the absence of a single Chola record of this period to the north of Nellore" there is no "reason to suppose that Vengi was regained for the Chola empire by Kulottunga even for a short while." As "The power of the Kakatiyas had been growing for some time and spreading over the ancient kingdom of Vengi, imposing a new suzerainty over the Chieftaincies that had emerged thereafter the withdrawal of chola power from the region, and that the greatest monarch of this line, Ganapati had come to the throne by A.D. 1199, the most natural way of interpreting Kulottunga's claim seems to be to suppose that he warred with the Kakatiya ruler and entered warangal, his capital sometimes called Orugallu a name which is Tamilised into Urangai"<sup>190</sup>. Thus Kulottunga followed his conquest of Kanchi in 1196 from Telugu cholas by leading a successful expedition into Warangal in A.D. 1208. In this connection, he must have purged all signs of rebellion, if any, on the part of the Telugu cholas and other local dynasties in Vengi. Tammusiddha, Errasiddha and Manmasiddha must have accompanied and helped Kulottunga in his Kakatiya wars as loyal subordinates.

Tammusiddha's Velanandu choda contemporary was Prithvisvara with whom he did not come into conflict. In his records Tammusiddha is described as a great warrior, victorious and hard to be overcome by enemies. He was dignified, graceful, handsome and led virtuous life. In the words<sup>191</sup> of Professor Sastri "The Kavali inscription states that while Nallasiddha<sup>192</sup> was the crowned king (abhishikta), his younger brother Tammusiddha was ruling the kingdom by his grace *tatkataksho deva vayyam Karoti*. It is therefore difficult to say whether Tammusiddha ruled only after Manma's death or conjointly with him. A review of the inscriptions seems to be nearer the truth."<sup>193</sup> The "Kavali inscription mentions only Nallasiddha (Venkayya would read Manmasiddha here and if this is correct it directly contradicts the Tammusiddha

records) and Tammasiddha and states that though the former was the anointed sovereign, still Tammusiddhi carries on the affairs of the state by his grace and supports Sewell's suggestion."<sup>194</sup> So according to the Kavali inscription, the donor Yammasuddhi was the regent while the elder brother was the anointed king. Tammusiddhi's records range from the 22nd to the 26th year of Kulottunga III.

Some Telugu chola princes whose relationship to the mainline at Nellore is not known are heard of in this period. M.P.C. Rajagandagopala alias Ranganathan in A.D. 1192 and the 16th year of Kulottunga (III) granted land in Singahamadu to the deity at Nellore in Pakanadu in Chedikulamanikkanalanadu in Jayangondacholamnandalam. In a record of A.D. 1204, the headman of Kavanur in Pongaindu in Manvirkottam made a grant to temple at Poyindam in Padamadu. M.P.C. Siddharasa and his queen Numkamadevi figure as donors in several records ranging from the 18th year of Kulottunga III onwards and have been identified with Nallasiddha, the son of Errasiddha and his queen Nankamadevi. Nunkama made grants to the temples at Srirangam and Kalahasti in the 19th year of Kulottunga and A.D. 1194 respectively. It has been said that probably Nunkamadevi belonged to the Yadavaraya family and was a daughter of Rajamalla Yadavarapa. M.P.C. Siddharasa or Erasiddharasa figures in three records of the Yadavarayas at Chapapalapalle (Venketagiri taluq) in the reigns of Rajamalladevan alias Bhujabalasiddharasa and Yadavaraya dated in the 39th year of Kulottunga III and the 2nd year of Rajaraja III.

### **Tikka I A.D. 1209-1248**

Son of Manumasiddha II, Tikka or Tirukalatti succeeded Tammusiddha on the throne. His records in large numbers are found all over the kingdom. According to one record Manumasiddha had an younger brother Attiga. Tikka's earliest record is from Gundlapalem dated A.D. 1210 recording grant by Senangulam, son of Deva of Nellurikota and the head servant of the king. The next record is from Palicherlapadu (Rapur taluq) dated A.D. 1211 mentioning the king and his

prasasti and gift in Palachalam in chedupulinadu. Two titles in prasasti are—Tenkanannitya and Jagadobbaganda.<sup>195</sup> In the 31st year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1213) Tikka I made gifts at Nandalur for the merit of his father Manumsiddhana and Nallesiddharasa.<sup>196</sup> Another records of that year at Ramatirthem records the grant of Iddattur in Mundainadu in Chedikulamanikkavalanadu to Manumakesava of Manumakesavapura, a suburb of Nellore in Perunadu in Chedikulamanikkavalanadu.<sup>197</sup> Of the two records<sup>198</sup> of A.D. 1214, the Dubagunta inscription records a grant for the merit of Manumasiddhanadeva C.M. son of Rajendradeva and the Pattapuravi record mentions Tirukalatti from Nellore and records gifts by his asthanikas Kathajiyya and chikkajiyya. The record from Chikavole<sup>199</sup> of the 36th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1218) records a grant by Tukkinayaka grandson of Vairapanayaka, a padiyar of king Tikka. Tikka's record<sup>200</sup> from Utukur dated in the 37th year of Kulottunga III indicates the location of Melalaipakkam (a suburb of) Vellaseri in his kingdom

Tikka's records mentioning Rajaraja III range from his 2nd year onwards. A record<sup>201</sup> of that year at Conjeevaram mentions grants by Chalukyasarayana Manmasiddharasa. (A.D.) 1218). Tikkinayaka, brother of Padiyari Vairappanayaka, the mahapradhani of M.P.C. Errasiddha was the donor at Conjeevaram in the 5th year of Rajaraja III.<sup>202</sup> In the Singanapalem inscription of the 8th year of Rajaraja III, figures a minister of M.P.C. Errasiddharasa.<sup>203</sup> Kettamaladeviyar, queen of Pillaiyar Gandagopala, was the donor in a conjeevaram record of the 10th year of Rajaraja III.<sup>204</sup> Gandagopala is obviously Tikka I. In the 12th year of Rajaraja III, Tikka M.P.C. Gandagopala made a grant at Tiruppalaivanam.<sup>205</sup> The gift of Ganda gopalamadai at Gudimallam (N. Arcot district) in the 13th year of Rajaraja III<sup>206</sup> indicates Tikka's suzerainty in that area. Two<sup>207</sup> of Tikka's records dated in the 13th year of Rajaraja III are at Mallam and Tummuru. His records<sup>208</sup> from Katrayapadu (Kavali taluq) and Musunur dated A.D. 1228 and 1230 respectively mention his subordinates, Patinayaka and Kararumanmarama, lord of Muranapura. Dipkalti deva in the second record is a mistake for

Tirukalatti. Of Tikka's four records<sup>209</sup> dated A.D. 1230 and the 15th year of Rajaraja III, one is at Tiruppalaivanam and the others at Conjeevaram. Of the 16th year of Rajaraja III, two of Tikka's records are at Conjeevaram, a third at Ukukur and one each at Kurukatapalle, Vogur and Tirunirmalai.<sup>210</sup> (A.D. 1231) dated in the 17th year of Rajaraja III Tikka's records are at Kalahasti, Conjeevaram and so forth. Tikka's inscription of the 18th year of Rajaraja III are at Conjeevaram, Kavanippakkam (Chingleput district), Madavillagam and Mopur.<sup>211</sup> In the record from Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1234. Tikka is mentioned as Cholatikka.<sup>212</sup> Tikka's records dated in the 19th 21st and 22nd years of Rajaraja III are at Conjeevaram. The record at Puvvada dated A.D. 1239 mentions Bhujabala-vira Manmasiddhayadeva C.M.<sup>213</sup> The record at Jambai (N. Arcot district) dated in the 23rd year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1239) a fragment—mentions the victories of Nayanar Gandagopalar over Vallabaladevan at Senbai i.e. Hoysala Narasimha.<sup>214</sup> Two records dated in the 24th year of Rajaraja III<sup>215</sup> at Conjeevaram and Seshamambapuram, the former mentions M.P.C. and the latter Manmasiddha and Allutikka (son-in-law). Tikka's next record is from Conjeevaram dated in the 26th year of Rajaraja III.<sup>216</sup> The Motupalli record of A.D. 1242 mentions Bayyachoda Maharaja. The record from Manupur (Rapur taluq) dated A.D. 1243 mentions M.P.C. Tilakanarayana Manasiddharasa.<sup>217</sup> In A.D. 1244 in a record from Kavali taluq Allutikka C.M. figures as the donor.<sup>218</sup> Bhujabala choddatikka and Allutikka figure in the record from Ayyavaripalle (Udayagiri taluq) with date A.D. 1245<sup>219</sup>—Tikka's records<sup>220</sup> from Conjeevaram and Tiruvannamallai dated in the 29th and 30th years of Rajaraja III respectively record grants by the Sambuvarayas. In A.D. 1246 at Annamasamudram, Allutikka ruling etc. Kanchi, installed a deity at Atmakur for the merit of his father-in-law king Tikka i.e. Tirukalatti M who has been wrongly identified with Tirukalattideva Yadavaraya.<sup>221</sup> In two records<sup>222</sup> from Jaladanki (Kavali taluq) and Devaravemur dated A.D. 1244 and 1247 respectively mention allutikka and his younger brother Vijayadityadeva C.M.

Besides these and several records at Conjeevaram dated in

the regnal years of the chola emperors, are many undated inscriptions of Tikka I. One record at Little Conjeevaram mentions Tribhuvana Chakravarti Gandagopaladeva<sup>223</sup> The Babbepalle record mentions king Tikka, son of Tirukalattidevaraja.<sup>224</sup> The Nelattur record (Nellore taluq) mentions Tikka and Allutikka.<sup>225</sup> The Manimangalam epigraph mentions M P C Gandagopala i.e. Tikka, as father of Nilagangaraiyar.<sup>226</sup> Here father just means lord. In a Conjeevaram inscription Tikka calls himself a staunch devotee of Srivaradaraja.<sup>227</sup> A later record at Nandalur dated A.D. 1257 refers to Tikka's capture of Kanchi, and defeat of Someesa at Champapuri.<sup>228</sup>

### Tikka's Political Relations

Tikka I was the greatest of the Nellore cholas if not of all the Telugu cholas. His kingdom comprised a vast area. His numerous records and literature of the period speak of his significant military successes and attest his manifold capacities as a warrior and administrator. His long name—M.P.C. Manumasittarasan Tirukalattidevan alias Gandagopala is composed of his own name Tirukalattidevan alias Gandagopala and the names of his father Manumasittarasan and grand father Errasiddha entitled M.P.C. Tikka's record dated A.D. 1245. At Ayyavaripalle by specifically mentioning Tikka and Allutikka frustrates the mistaken identity of both supposed by Sewell. Allutikka was the son-in-law of Tikka I as the word Allu i.e son-in-law and later records make it clear. Tikka had a long reign of nearly forty years and had his own coinage the Gandagopala madai and the Gandagopalapudumadai. He "combined the energy and enterprise of an aggressive chief with loyalty of a faithful vassal." which was the keynot of his success. His popularity and importance are born out by references in recorded tradition and literature. For the Kaiñyat of Pattapuravi refers to the rule of Tirukalitadeva C.M. and that of Ravulakollu (Siddhavatam taluq) records that after Nallasiddha, king Tirukalattideva C.M. ruled over the region. The chaku verse about Nellore says that Tirukala ruled with courage.

Tikka I played a predominant role in the contemporary politics of South India. Besides other sources of information, his prasasti and titles bear testimony to this. In his political dealings Tikka came into contact with the Hoysalas the yadavas, the kakatiyas, yadavarayas, Sambuvarayas, Telugu Pallavas.

### **Tikka and the Cholas**

The Chola emperors contemporaneous with Tikka were—Kulottunga III, Rajaraja III and Rajendra III. The condition of the chola empire, to cite Professor Sastri was as follows: "The Chola supremacy was certainly still maintained at its full vigour up to Guddapah and Nellore at the time of Kulottunga's accession. And except for the short interlude now engaging our attention, Kulottunga's inscriptions do not give a contrary impression. There were many indications that the feudatories of the empire were increasing in their strength and that the moment the Central Government passed into incompetent hands, the empire would go pieces. But Kulottunga was by no means a weak ruler and on the whole he succeeded in the midst of many troubles in maintaining the integrity of his inheritance." "In Kulottunga's reign the Telugu chodas did not once find themselves strong enough to defy Kulottunga III for any length of time. And the statement in the Srirangam epigraph that "Kulottunga entered Kanchi with his anger abated shows that the campaign was of the nature of punitive expedition directed against vassals who had raised the standard of revolt." Professor Sastri says "the great Tikka I himself who figures under the name Gandagopala along with his queen and his officials in a large number of Rajaraja's grants," was the Chief among the Telugu chola feudatories of Rajaraja III.

"The Telugu chodas of Nellore had obtained considerable power and were ruling over an extensive territory in the Nellore, Chingleput and Cuddapah districts. We have seen that these rulers on the whole were more friendly with the Chola monarchs of the south and ready to acknowledge their formal suzerain position, Tikkanripatti alias Gandagopala was the contemporary ruler of Nellore." Tikka's first inscription

dated in Kulottunga's regnal years is of the 31st year (A.D. 1213) recording an endowment for the merit of his father Manmasiddha and (alias) Nallasiddha." In all these inscriptions the princes concerned take good care to define in an unmistakable manner their vassal position to Kulottunga. And this relation is continued almost up to the end of Kulottunga's reign."<sup>229</sup> For besides Tikka's Ramatirtham record dated also in the 31st year, his Chikavolu record is dated in the 36th year the Ukrikaru apigraph in the 37th year and yet another from Tiruvorriyur in the 38th year of Kulottunga III—the last mentioning an agent of Siddharasa in that place.<sup>230</sup> Here may be noted that we get records of a Bhujabalavira Errasiddha (N.I.A 38, R 38, G 59, G 58) who rules in the early years of Rajaraja III and like Nallasiddha some times acknowledges the Chola suzerainty and sometimes does not was this Errasiddha, the son of Nallasiddha ?"<sup>231</sup>

As to Kulottunga III, Tikka's allegiance to Rajaraja III also, is attested by his records. His first record dated in Rajaraja's regnal year is of the 10th year if not of the second year. His next record is of the 12th year from Tiruppalaivanam and the series continues upto to 26th year of Rajaraja, the record of that year coming from Connjeevaram. Besides, the specification of some places and temples in the records, for instance. Chedupaludu, Perurnadu and Mundainadu in Chedikulamanikkavalanadu in Jayangandacholamandalam, Erikilanadu in Kaliyurkottam, Kaveripakkam in Paduvurkottam, Puliyurkottam, Amurkottam, Pagamanadu etc. speak for the Chola aegis over the Nellore Chola kingdom. Besides, "there is clear literary evidence of (Tikka's) his friendship with the cholas and his hostility to the Hoysals."<sup>232</sup> Tikka in the introductory verses to his Nirvachanottava Ramayana says that Tikka defeated Karnataka Somesa, Sambhuraju, and other enemies, established the Chola king on his throne and assumed the title—Cholasthanacharya. As Tikka was ruling in conjeevaram Rajaraja's reign, probably he helped Rajaraja III against Maravarman Sundara Pandya when he was disturbed by him and thus established a claim to the title—Cholasthanacharya. In a record dated A.D. 1231 and the

15th year of Rajaraja III, about Tikka, it is stated, that after having acquired his ancestral kingdom in due succession, he captured the wealth of all princes who were self willed, shook the southern quarter, killed the kings of the south, took Kanchi and was ruling there after making it his own. After the release of Rajaraja III in A.D. 1232, not only Tikka but Gangapati, Narasimha II, Somesvara, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya – each styled himself the establisher of the chola kingdom.

“The growth of difference between Somesvara and the cholas on Pandyan policy forced the latter to seek allies for themselves.” Tikkana says that Tikka fought against Sambaraja and other enemy mandalikas and compelled Kanchi and Chadimandala and Kadavapati to acknowledge his supremacy.” The importance of these successes lay in that they checked the predatory activities of the turbulent Kopperunjinga and his confederates and thereby strengthened the position of the monarch. The presence of Gandagopala’s inscriptions dated about A.D. 1230 and later in Kanchipuram and its neighbourhood and the fact that many of them are dated in Rajaraja’s regnal years corroborate the statements of Tikkana Somayaji on the relations between Tikka and the Cholas.” For Tikkana states that Tikka subdued the Karnata ruler Somesvara and thereby easily established the chola in his position and acquired the title—Cholasthapanacharya. This is again confirmed by a hoysala inscription dated s 1162 (A.D. 1240) which mentions an expedition of Somesvara against Gandagopala. Once more the date of the Hoysala inscription indicates that Rajendra’s activities for the inscription of Chola power were begun some years prior to his formal installation as heir apparant. We thus see that accession of a weak-Pandyan ruler, the commencement of Rajendra’s campaign of recovery, the estrangement between the Cholas and Hoysalas and the alliances of the Cholas with the Telugu Cholas all hang together and constitute a sort of a diplomatic revolution in the political condition of South India. In fact it was an age of rapid changes in the political map of South India. The particular phase that was developed by the advent of Rajendra and has just been described furnishes a very good example in the practice of the

diplomatic theory of the mandala developed in the scholastic treatises of Hindu Polity. The Cholas kingdom is surrounded by enemies on all sides and its only ally is a ruler whose territory lies beyond that of a neighbouring enemy.”<sup>233</sup> Again Professor Sastri opines that Somesvara’s title Cholesthapana charya is of doubtful historical significance and is a simple repetition of the title of his father.<sup>234</sup>

Tikka as a loyal subordinate helped the Cholas in their wars against their enemies. As Ketana in *Dasanumara charitra* says<sup>235</sup> that Tikka levied tributes from the Pandya Professor suggests” can it be that his troops assisted Rajendra in his Pandyan war ?”<sup>236</sup> Besides Rajendra led a campaign against the Sambuvarayas—some of whom bearing the title *virarakshasa*—held sway in the region of North Arcot.<sup>237</sup> And one of Rajendra’s titles is “the very Rama to the prosperous northern Lanka celebrated for its *Virarakshasas*”<sup>238</sup> As Tikkana says<sup>239</sup> that Tikka undertook expeditions against Sambhuraja and hostile mandalikas before he established himself at Kanchi-pura” it is quite possible that in the wars he co-operated with Rajendra in the restoration of Chola power. It is thus seen that the measures of Rajendra met with a considerable measure of success and that for some years between A.D. 1238 and 1250 the Chola power once more held its own sway against its enemies and feudatories; thanks of the loyalty and co-operation of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore.”<sup>240</sup> Rajendra did not conquer Kanchi. The latest chola inscription at Kanchi are dated in the 29th year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1245) and none of Rajendra’s records are found there. But there are two records Kanchipura of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas, with dated A.D. 1249 recording grants by his minister Samantabhuja. From this date onwards, the Telugu Cholas and the Kakatiyas were allies,<sup>241</sup> e.g. Manumasiddhi and Ganapati. “Some year later when Jatavarman Sundarapandya killed Gandagopala i.e. Tikka, in battle and conquered the Telugu choda kingdom, he became master of Kanchipuram and Nellore and put Ganapati to flight. We may therefore suppose that Kanchipuram had for some years become part of the Telugu Choda kingdom under Tikka, that he held it in nominal subjection to Rajaraja III in

the beginning and to Ganapati later on until the city was captured by the Pandyan invader. The Cholas thus did not long keep their hold on Kanchi for which Kulottuga III had fought successfully in the latter part of his reign with the rise of Kopperunjinga into independence, the Chola king must have found it difficult to maintain his power in Kanchi and acquiesced in the virtual annexation of the City to the Telugu Choda kingdom."<sup>242</sup>

According to Ketana Choda Tikka ruled over the Dravidamandalikas; and established choda on his throne. This corroborates similar statements of Tikkana.<sup>243</sup> Thus when Rajaraja III was weak, and the Chola kingdom was invaded by Somesvara, Kopperunjinga and Maravarman Sundara Pandya, Tikka I defended the country, opposed the enemy and drove them successfully.<sup>244</sup> By his services, Tikka endeared himself to the chola monarch "though he took advantage of the Chola sovereign to push on his conquests as far as South Arcot and to occupy Conjeevaram."<sup>245</sup>

### **Tikka and the Hoysalas**

The Western chalukyas and the Kalachuris of Kalyani had decayed by the close of the 12th century A.D., and were replaced by the Hoysalas who were destined to fill a large role in contemporary South India till about the middle of the 14th century A.D. Tikka's contemporary Hoysala rulers were Narasimha II (till A.D. 1238-39) and Virasomesvara (A.D. 1234-35-1253). Tikka came into conflict with Hoysalas on behalf of the Cholas on account of the differences between the cholas and the Hoysalas on their Pandyan policy<sup>246</sup> and won some important military victories over them.

Tikka I occupied Kanchi by A.D. 1231. The ambitions of Hoysala Narasimha brought him into conflict with Tikka. The clashes between Tikka and Narasimha were frequent and took a serious turn by about A.D. 1240. For Tikka led two successful expeditions of conquest into the Hoysala territories by that year in which Somesvara's counter expedition against the the Telugu cholas took place. Tikka's first expedition into the Hoysala kingdom was undertaken and accomplished by

A.D. 1231—the first of his occupation of Kanchi. For in his record at little Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1231 and the 15th year of Rajaraja III. Tikka Gandagopala is described as “a Catachymic fire to the ocean i.e. Kalyanapuri (the capital of the Chalukyas—and the supreme lord of Vikramasimhapuri.”<sup>247</sup> Thus Tikka vanquished the Hoysalas and destroyed Kalyanapuri i.e. Kalyani. His attack on Kalyani in the entire Hoysala kingdom attests its importance, not only as the capital of the Western Chalukyas and the Kalachuris in former times, but its singular supreme position under the Hoysala. The fact of Kalyana being referred in particular in stating that Tikka, lord of Vikramasimhapuri attached it, may even suggest that it was more important than the capital Dwarasamudra, in this period. This success over the Hoysalas must have greatly enhanced the prestige and power of Tikka I.

Obviously encouraged by his successes in A.D. 1231, after an interval of eight years in A.D. 1237 Tikka I led another expedition against the Hoysals, more fateful in its results. For a record from Jambai<sup>248</sup> in South Arcot district, with date A.D. 1239 and the 23rd year of Rajaraja III “says that in Chittirai of that year—Nayanar Gandagopalar was pleased to go out (for fight?), having stabbed Vallaladevan, proceeded to (?) Senbai. The inscription stops with the mention of Senbai. But that need not puzzle us as to the result of the fight which was obviously a victory for the Telugu cholas as the events of the expedition would show—namely killing of the Hoysala ruler. On chronological grounds, Vallala deva, the victim of Tikka I, cannot be identified with Bailala II or Ballala III of the Hoysalas. “As the dynasty itself came to be called Ballala after the glorious reign of Ballala II, we can take Vallaladeva to refer to a Hoysala king who could be no other than Narasimha II. We may take the last date of this king to be A.D. 1238-39.”<sup>249</sup> The course of the expedition must have been as follows—In A.D. 1239 Chittirai, Tikka Gandagopala started out, proceeded to the Hoysala kingdom, met strong opposition in the Hoysala armies under Narashimha II i.e. Vallaladeva meaning Lord of Vallala i.e. Ballala i.e. Hoysalas. In the fight, the Hoysalas vanquished and their ruler lost his life. The site of the battle is not known. After this victory,

Tikka I proceeded to Senbai i.e. Jambai, where he must have won further victories over his enemies, the details of which are not mentioned in the record. This expedition of Tikka brought on its heels the Hoysala expedition of the Telugu chola kingdom of Nellore.

In August A.D. 1240, Somesvara, the son of Narasimha II, led an expedition against Tikka I.<sup>250</sup> The causes leading to this expedition are mentioned above. "It is the fall of his father at the hands of Tikka that should have been the immediate cause of Somesvara's expedition against the Chief."<sup>251</sup> In this defensive war Tikka I proved victorious, vanquished Somesvara and Hoysala armies which is attested in clear terms by contemporary literature and inscriptions. Tikkana says<sup>252</sup> that Tikka defeated Karanataka Somesvara i.e. Hoysala Virasomesvara. Ketana also says<sup>253</sup> that Tikka ended the pride of the king of Marnata i.e. Somesvara. In withstanding the Hoysalas, Tikka was fighting on behalf of Rajaraja III whose enemy Somesvara was. The Nandalur inscription<sup>254</sup> of A.D. 1257 mentions that King Tikka of Nellore captured Kanchi and defeated Somesvara at Champapuri. This Champapuri is probably Jambai i.e. Senbai of records of an earlier date in Tamil. The identification of Somesvara with Chalukya Somesvara IV of Kalyani<sup>255</sup> (A.D. 1187) is untenable on chronological data. The Nandalur inscription supplies the place of the battle between Somesvara and Tikka. Thus the Hoysala expedition into the Telugu Chola kingdom was a failure.

When Lakumaya invaded Kurumalur, Tikka captured his horses in the battle. As has been suggested, Lakumaya vanquished by Tikka "may have been a Kanerese general at Gurumalur. Therefore the Nellore chief too a very prominent part in the Chola-Hoysala struggle and had carried on his activities over the extensive area from the Godavari to the south Pennar."<sup>256</sup> Tikka's General was Siddhi and Singhana was the general of Somesvara. With the support of the Cholas behind him, Tikka was successful in offensive and defensive warfare against the Hoysalas. His achievements in this sphere were remarkable for he destroyed Kalyanar, vanquished Narasimha I in A.D. 1231, killed him in A.D. 1239, vanquished Somesvara at Champapuri in A.D. 1240,

defeated General Lakumaya—date not known, and captured his horses. Thus the relations between Tikka and the Hoysalas form an important phase of the history of South India of the period.

### **Tikka and the Yadavas**

The Yadava dynasty of Devagiri lasted till the close of the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. In inscriptions and literature the Yadavas are frequently referred to as the Sennas. The Yadava contemporaries of Tikka were Jaitugi or Jaitrapala (A.D. 1191-1210), Singhana (A.D. 1210-1247) and Kandhara or Kanhara or Krishna (A.D. 1247-1260).

Tikka I came into conflict with the Yadavas and won a victory over them. For a record of his says that he crushed the pride of the Senna king. This gains support from the statement<sup>257</sup> of Ketana that Tikka purged the pride of the feudatories (Namcutas) of the Sevuna and Kataka rulers, and that Pinnabhaskara, the seventh son of his minister Siddhi, vanquished the Sevanas. In detail it is thus—Bacha—entitled Gandhavarana approached the ocean i.e. of the fearful Sevunaslika fire, drowned it like Agastya and dried it like King Raghu—so the people speak about him.

This conflict between Tikka and the Yadavas must have taken place in A.D. 1240—the date of the Hoysala invasion of the Telugu Chola kingdom.<sup>258</sup> Probably Yadava Singhana with his armies accompanied Somesvara in his expedition; was opposed by Tikka I and his armies. Singhana was vanquished, his armies were routed and in this Pinnabacka had a significant role. The samantas of the Serunas defeated by Tikka may refer to the local Yadavas princes e.g. Madhava, Saranga etc. ruling Nellore as the feudatories of the Telugu cholas and the kakatiyas.

### **Tikka I and the Velanandu Choda**

Till the close of the 12th century A.D., the Telugu chodas and the Velanandu chodas were on terms of alliance both owing allegiance to the Chola emperors. Tikka's contemporary at Tsandavole was Prithvisvara. No friendship lasted between

the two rulers. The ambition of Tikka to extend his power made him take advantage of the decaying state of the Velanandu kingdom under Prithvisvara.

Tikka led an expedition into the Velanandu kingdom and killed Prithvisvara in the battle that ensued. For poet Tikkana<sup>259</sup> says that while still young, Choda Tikka played the game of ball with the head of Prithvisvara. This even is also referred to in the Conjeevaram epigraph<sup>260</sup> of Tikka dated in the 15th year of Rajaraja III i.e. A.D. 1231 describing Gandagopala as the sole hero of the world who cut off the head of Prithvisvara. This is corroborated by Kekata's statement,<sup>261</sup> that Tikka forcibly cut off the head of Prithvisvara. Tikka's Velanandu expedition must have occurred in A.D. 1210 as Prithvisvara is not heard of after that year. Where this fateful battle was fought is not known. The failure of the Velanandus resulted in the death of their king, the last of the line and end of their kingdom. But like his Hoysala expeditions, Tikka's Velanandu expedition was a brilliant success, for he killed the last of the Velanandu chodas and thus wrung the death knell of the Velanandu kingdom, and this victory is recorded with pride in records and literature of the Telugu chodas. Prince Ballaya chola, claiming to have killed Prithvisvara must have participated in Tikka's expedition. But this expedition does not seem to have resulted in the annexation of territories for soon after—about A.D. 1212—Ganapati undertook the conquest of the Velanandu country.

### Tikka and the Yadavarayas

The Yadavarayas were ruling over parts of North Arcot, Chittoor, and Chingleput districts. The Yadavaraya rulers contemporary with Tikka were—Tirukalattideva Yadavaraya (A.D. 1155-1246) and Viranarasingadeva Yadavaraya (A.D. 1209-1263). The names of some of the Yadavarayas e.g. Viranarasinga, are same as those of some of the Hoysala rulers e.g. Narasimha II. And Viranarasinga and Narasimha II were contemporaries.

King Tikka is often confused with Tirukalattideva Yadavaraya. This shows that some of the names of the Telugu

cholas of Nellore e.g. Tirukalatti to 1941, and the Yadamaraya are common e.g. Tirukalatti.<sup>262</sup> Both Tikka and Tirukalatti, as seen above, were contemporaries. Tikka I and the Yadavarayas maintained friendly relations among themselves commenced by alliances of marriage. For Lakshminidevi, daughter of Vikranarsinju was married to Allutikka.<sup>263</sup> Telugu chola and son-in-law of king Tikka I and also as (A.D. 1249-1272).

The Yadavarayas like the Telugu cholas owed allegiance to the Chola emperors. And Tikka and the Yadavarayas acted together in fighting their enemies. A record of the reign of Kulottunga III at Chepalapalle<sup>264</sup> mentioning M.P.C. Errasiddharasa and Rajamalladeva alias Bhujabalasiddharasa supports the prevalence of friendly relations between Tikka and the Yadavarayas. The continuation of allied relations is attested by the epigraph at Melpadi,<sup>265</sup> dated in the 8th year of Rajaraja III mentioning Puddiyarasan, the uncle (mama) of Siraimitta Perumal alias Siyagandadevariadeva kula madus, daughter of Siyanganda and p.c. Marasar's daughter figure in a record at Kalahasti. The latter was the queen of Ghattiyaraya Yadavaraya.<sup>266</sup> In every respect—extent and resources of their kingdom etc. the Telugu cholas of Nellore were more powerful than the Yadavarayas. Consequently the statement that “possibly the Yadavarayas were provincial governors and the Telugu cholas of Nellore were rulers of chiefships subject to the authority of the Yadavarayas.”<sup>267</sup> is baseless.

### **Tikka I and the Samburaravan and the Kadavarayas**

The Sambuvarayas and the Kadavarayas were of Pallava lineage and ruled in the region of North and South Arcots. Tikka came into conflict with the contemporary rulers in the kingdoms of Sambuvarayas and Kadavarayas and won victories over them.

Tikkana says<sup>268</sup> that Tikka defeated Sambhuraja and other enemies. Here Sambhuraja refers to obviously a ruler of the Sambhuvaraya lineage contemporaneous with Tikka and other enemies include the Kadavarayas, the Yadavarayas, the Pandyas and so forth. Tikka's Conjeevaram epigraph<sup>269</sup> of A.D. 1231

and the 15th year of Rajaraja III says that he captured the wealth of the self willed princes, shook the southern quarter, killed the kings of the south and took Kanchi. In this the kings of the South probably refer to the Sambuvarayas and the Kadavarayas besides others. Tikka's victories over the Sambuvarayas were won by A.D. 1231 and Sambhuraja mentioned by Tikkana and vanquished by Tikka and Sambuvaraya implied in the mention of the kings of the south killed by Tikka, are probably two persons of the line who opposed Tikka. Ketana says<sup>270</sup> that Tikka ruled over the Dravidamandalikas—the petty rulers of Dravid to Tamil land, evidently among whom were included the Sambuvarayas and the Kadavarayas. The statement shows that Tikka's expedition into the Tamil land and the Sambuvaraya kingdom included in it, resulted in the conquest and the subjugation of the rulers. Tikkana clearly says that Tikka disturbed the group of enemies including Sambhuraja and ruled Kanchipura. These facts agree with those in the Conjeevaram epigraph (A.D. 1231).

Of the Kadavarayas, the greatest was Kopperunjinga entitled avanya vanodbhava Rajasimha, Khadyamalla and Maharajasimha. Kopperunjinga was a formidable enemy the rulers of the day and his kingdom was extensive lying to the south of Kanchi. As the cholas took the title Tribhuvanachakravarti, Koppersunjinge assumed the epithet—Sakalabhuvanachakravartin.<sup>271</sup> Tikka came into conflict with the Kadavarayas and vanquished Kopperunjinga

Tikkana says<sup>272</sup> that Tikka disturbed or defeated the group of enemies, ruled Kanchipura, disturbed Chedimandala and took tribute from Kalavapati chedi mandala, corresponding to South Arcot district was included in the dominion of Kopperunjinga, who is referred to by the term Kalavapati i.e. lord of Kalava i.e. Kadavaya. The Kadavaraya rulers or even Kopperunjinga himself may have suffered reverses and some even lost their lives in the hands of Tikka and accepted his suzerainty by A.D. 1231 for in his record of the year at Conjeevaram, Tikka claims to have vanquished some rulers and vanquished some princes—all in the south, and it is not improbable that the Kadavarayas were included among these rulers or princes. But Tikkana's references and Ketana's

statement that Tikkana ruled over the Dravidamandalikas obviously including Kopperunjinga and his kingdom, evidently refer to Tikka's expedition into the Pallava territories, with Kanchi as his base after A.D.1231. In A.D.1243 Kopperunjinga revolted against Rajaraja III and was subdued by Tikka Gandagopala "for inscriptions of subsequent years prove him to have acknowledged as his over lord at least in some parts of chola render the great Telugu chola chief Tikka entitled Gandagopala while other parts were ruled by Sengani chiefs." Consequent on the subjugation, Kopperunjinga had to pay tribute to Tikka, as attested by Tikkana.

### **Tikka and the Pandyas**

The Pandyan empire was a great power in the South India of the times, and its rulers contemporary with Tikka I were—Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1216-1238) and Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (A.D. 1238-1253). These great Pandyan rulers shook the chola empire under Rajaraja III to its foundations. Tikka I came into conflict with the Pandyas vanquished them and even levied tribute from the Pandyan empire. This happened, no doubt when Tikka was fighting on the side of Rajendra against the Pandyas. The dravidamandalikas and the kings of the south—whom Tikkavanquished include possibly the Pandyas also. If so, Tikka must have defeated them by A.D. 1231—the date of the inscription mentioning his victories in the south. Fighting on the side of the Cholas, Tikka, when the Pandyas invaded and occupied Kanchi, drove them, and took Kanchi just about A.D. 1230.

### **Tikka and the Kakatiyas**

Ganapatideva was the Kakatiya contemporary of Tikka I. He was keenly interested in the affairs of Vengi and his expedition into Vengi had a substantial share in bringing about the fall of the Velanandu kingdom of Tsandavole. After his conquest of Velanandu country about A.D. 1210, Ganapati must have passed through the Telugu chola kingdom to go to the south. Tikka and Ganapati do not seem to have come into conflict with each other; and there are no signs of allegiance-

of the former to the latter. Possibly both were allies and acted together against the enemies. It is suggested, though not with any proof, that Tikka invited Ganapati to undertake the southern expedition, when he lost Kanchi to the Pandyas and defeated the Pandyas with Kakatiya help.<sup>273</sup>

### Tikka and the Telugu Pallavas

Odayaraja (A.D. 1216-1234) and Nagadevaraja (A.D. 1235-1254) and Viragandagopala (A.D. 1243-1253) and Abhideva Malideva (A.D. 1217-1269) were the Telugu Pallava rulers contemporary with Tikka I. A record at Bezvada, with date A.D. 1218 mentions Trinayana Pallava Siddhaya. Another record at Mokupalli, dated A.D. 1237 records Siddhaya's grant of Aduru to the temple at Mottupalli alias Srimadvelanagara in the reign of Siddhayadeva Maharaja. The two Siddhayas<sup>274</sup> are identical and refer to the Telugu Pallava ruler of that name, and the suggested identity of Siddhaya with Manmasiddha, son of Tikka I, of the Nellore cholas is mistaken.<sup>275</sup> Probably Tikka and Viragandagopala were allies as there is no evidence of any conflicts between them. And Tikka I may not have come into contact with the other Telugu Pallavas.

### Tikka's other Victories

In inscriptions and literature, Tikka is variously mentioned as Mahamandalesvara Tirukalattideva C.M., Virutirakalattideva C.M., M.P.C., Tirukatti, Cholatirukalattideva, Piljaiyar Gandagopalan, Tikka M.P.C. Gandagopala, M.P.C. Gandagopala Tirukalattideva M.P.C. Manumasiddharasan Tirukalattidevan alias Gandagopala devan, Cholatikka, Nayanar Gandagopalar, Bhujabala chodatikka, Chodadeva Tirukalattideva, Tribhuvana chakravarti Gandagopaladeva, Tirukalattidevaraja, M.P.C. Gandagopala, Tikka Choda Tikka, Chodalatikka, Gandagopala tirukala deva choda, Tikkayadevaraju etc. This list of Tikka's names precludes the possibility of Tikka or Tirukalatti and M.P.C. Gandagopala Tirukalatti being two different but contemporary persons as has been supposed by one writer.<sup>276</sup> Besides,

we may note that the statement that Tikka's usual signature was Rajagandagopala<sup>277</sup> is wrong.

Some of Tikk's titles were<sup>278</sup>—Tribhuvana chakravarti, Tribhuvaniraya pendaru, rayagandagopala, aratibhagaderaya-pendaru, ubhayaraya gandanka, Khandiyaraya, ubhayabalavira, cholas thapana charya, abhinavabhoja and vijtadikkarindra. Tikkana describes Tikka as the ruler of the world, an equal of Kesava, a Rama in battle i.e., Samgrama Sri rama, and an extraordinary ruler.<sup>279</sup> Katana compares Tikka with Krishna.<sup>280</sup> The Kaifiyat of Nandavaram<sup>281</sup> mentions Tirukaladeva M of Srirangapattanam. If this Tirukala is Tikka I the reference speaks for his influence in the south. Tikka claims to have vanquished the suborninates of Kataka i.e. Cuttack, ruled the lords of Eruva,<sup>282</sup> and worsted the enemy heroes at Amalur. He defeated his proved foes.

Khanderaya (A.D. 1254) was a ruler of the line of the pallavas cuddapah. Tikka's title Khandiyaraya may mean his conquest of the Pallava ruler, whether he led an expedition into Kalinga is not clear. The Eruvachola ruler in this period was Mallideva C.M. (1250 A.D.). Tikka's feudatories—Eruvamannilu—probably refer the petty chieftains in the tracts—Eruva. The enemies vanquished at Amalur are not known.

Pota II, Dora III and Ganapati of the Chagis, Keta II and his successors, Rudradeva and his successors of the Kotas, Kusumaraja and Bhimaraja of the Parichchadis, Rudra I of the Natavadis, Madhava of the Yadavas, Siddharasa I and Siddharasa II of the Nagas were contemporaneous with Tikka. Of these, the Yadavas and the Nagas probably owed allegiance to Tikka I who may not have come into contact with the other rulers.

Siddhayaya Tikka the eldest son of Minister Siddhanarya, of the reign of Tikka I was valiant and bore the epithets—rayavesya Bhujenga and Gandhavaruna.<sup>283</sup> Tripurantaka, minister of Tikka has been identified with his namesake, the minister of Vijayagandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas.<sup>284</sup> On the death of Tikka, probably the minister took service under Vijayagandagopala. To state that Tikka fought the chola, is wrong.

The records of the reign bring to light Manumasiddha, Errasiddha, Bayya Choda and Tikka; and Allutikka. Of them Manmasiddha of the Dubagunta inscription (A.D. 1214), son Rajendra C.M. was probably a brother of Tikka I. Rajendradeva C.M. is identical with Manmasiddhi II who was also known as Rajendra Manmasiddhi or Rajendra choda<sup>225</sup> Chalukyanarayana Manmasiddharasa of the Conjeevaram record (A.D. 1218). Bhujabalavira Manmasiddhayadeva C.M. of Pavvuda epigraph (A.D. 1239), and Manmasiddha of records dated A.D. 1240, 1243 at Conjeevaram and Manupur respectively are identical with Manmassiddha III, son and successor of Tikka I. Errasiddha was the grandfather of Tikka I, whose records are found till A.D. 1217. Bayyachoda's relationship to Tikka is not known. Tikka was probably the son of Tikka I, as the father's name is given as Tirukalatti or if it refers to Tikka himself, the father's name is wrong.

#### Allutikka A.D. 1248-1272

During the last years of the reign of Tikka I, his son Manumasiddha III and son-in-law Allutikka were associated in the governance of the vast kingdom and each issued records separately and in conjunction with Tikka I. A study of the records of the period shows that there was a division of the kingdom between Manmasiddha and Allutikka, either towards the close of Tikka's reign, or soon after his death. Allutikka and Manmasiddha ruled their kingdoms with capitals at Kanchi and Nellore respectively, not as rivals and enemies but as friends and allies like the Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda and unlike the Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajamundry. The division was also peaceful for it was a measure calculated to strengthen the kingdom against foreign aggression and not one resulting in local disruption. Probably Tikka I: er his conquest entrusted the southern dominions to Allutikka and the hereditary kingdom to Manumasiddha who ruled independently after Tikka I.

Allutikka was the first Telugu chola ruler to have issue records in his own regnal years instead of those of his suzerain. As a result of the wars and victories of Tikka I,

Allutikka felt himself strong enough to declare independence and assume imperialistic titles. His earliest record is from Nellore dated A.D. 1182<sup>286</sup> registering a grant by his servant in the Vishaya-country - called after Beta. From A.D. 1244 onwards Allutikka figures in the records of Tikka I. No records of his first three years after the assumption of royalty are available. His first records known so far are dated in his 2nd regnal year. The conjeevaram epigraph dated in the 2nd year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Allutikka maharaja Gandagopaladeva records gifts by a native of Velichcheri alias Silasikhamanichaturvedimangalam in Puliur Kottam.<sup>287</sup> The donor was Tondaimandala Gurukularayan. Another record of the year at Mahabalipuram<sup>288</sup> records a gift by a native of Kuttanpakkam. Several records<sup>289</sup> of Allutikka's 3rd year are available and are widely distributed. The record from Conjeevaram provides for a lamp; and the one from Tiruppalaivanam mentions the gift of Gandagopala madai. The Attur inscription mentions the gift of Nellore madai by Timkachchali Udaiyan Tauvakkalandan, the headman of Maimbakkam in Arrur alias Rajarajanallur and the record from little conjeevaram mentions a grant by a native of Malaimandalam. The record from Mallam mentions a grant by Tiruchchirrambala mudaiyan alias Valavandan whereas the record from Tiruppalaivanam mentions gifts by the headman of Nayarunadu, in Pulalkottam alias Vikramasolavalanadu a district of Jayangondacholamandalam.

Of the 4th year of Allutikka, two inscriptions<sup>290</sup> are at Ramagiri (Ponneri taluq) and Tiruppalaivanam. The former is incomplete and the latter mentions the headman of Nayar alias Jayangendasolanallur. Three records,<sup>291</sup> dated in the 5th year of Allutikka are at Little Conjeevaram. One of them mentions the grant of Nellore Pudumadai by a merchant of Kavayappalli in Malaimandalam. Another mentions Kon Kattaiyan, a minister of Ganapati and the third records grant by a native of Kollanam (Kollam) in Malaimandalam and refers to the 2nd year of the Chola (?) king. The only inscription<sup>292</sup> of Allutikka's 6th year is from Little Conjeevaram mentioning a grant by four pradhanemudalis of Idainadu in Poysalarajya. Allutikka's records<sup>293</sup> dated in his 7th year are

at Kalahasti, Little Conjeevaram and Nellore. Of the two inscriptions<sup>294</sup> from Little Conjeevaram, one records gifts by Brahmiseti, minister of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. For decade from the 7th to the 17th year Allutikka's records are not found. The record from Little Conjeevaram<sup>295</sup> dated in the 17th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti (Gandagopaladeva, mentions Nalasiddhana of Kanchi, his feudatory. The next inscription is from Little Conjeevaram<sup>296</sup> dated in the 22nd year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Gandagopaladeva. This seems to be the latest of Allutikka's inscriptions.

Besides, a few records of Allutikka, not mentioning his regnal years are available. One such is at Little Conjeevaram.<sup>297</sup> and another at Mannarpolur (Polur taluq) registering a grant to the local temple.<sup>298</sup> Allutikka's epigraph at Tirupati is dated in the 5th year of M.P.C. Alluntirukalattideva (A.D. 1255) and mentions Seruvanur in. . .nadu.<sup>299</sup> As Allutikka's 22nd year corresponds to A.D. 1272 and as no records of his are found in subsequent years that must have been the last year of Allutikka's rule.

### His Political Relations

Allutikka had a reign of twenty-four years whereas Tribhuvana Chakravarti is mentioned as a Title of Tikka I in a record of his, it forms a prefix to Allutikka's name in almost all his records. Allutikka was variously known as Allutikaraja, Alluttiru Kalattideva etc, Allutikkaya gandagopaladeva, Allutirukallideva M Gandagopala, Tribhuvana Chakravarti Gandugopaladeva. Allutikka M Gandagopaladeva, and M.P.C. Alluntirukalattideva. His younger brother Vijayaditya etc., figureing in a record of A.D. 1247 was probably the crown prince in this reign.<sup>300</sup> Allutikka counted his regnal years from A.D. 1250 as the fifth year corresponds to A.D. 1255, as seen in his Tirupati epigraph.

### Allutikka and the Cholas

The contemporary chola emperor was Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1272). None of Allutikka's records are dated in Rajendra's regnal years. He assumed the imperial chola epithet—

Tribhuvana chakravarti and dated his records in his regnal years. Nevertheless, the friendly relations between the Telugu cholas and the chola emperors probably continued in this period.

### **Allutikka and the Pandyas**

The Pandyan emperors in this period were Maravarman Vira Pandya and Jatavarman, Sundara Pandya. On the death of Tikka I, the Pandyas frequently attacked the southern part of the Nellore chola kingdom the tracts to the north of Kanchi, constituting the kingdom of Allutikka. So, during the initial years of his rules Allutikka had a formidable enemy in the Pandyas. The Pandyas even occupied Kanchi in A.D. 1249<sup>301</sup> and Allutikka vanquished and took Kanchi with the help of the Kakatiyas. Perhaps this explains Allutikka's counting his regnal years from A.D. 1250, though he began rule in A.D. 1249. After overcoming his enemies, styling himself, Tribhuvanachakravarti he issued records.

### **Allutikka and the Kakatiyas**

The kakatiyas rulers at the time were Ganapati and Rudramadevi. Allutikka and the Ganapati were on terms of alliance. Almost at the beginning of Allutikka's reign, Ganapati helped him in overcoming the Pandyas. In A.D. 1240, Somanathabhoja, minister and general of Ganapati and governor of Kanchi granted Kalattur to Ekamranatha.<sup>302</sup> This speaks for the influence of the kakatiyas in Allutikka's kingdom. Gradually Allutikka consolidated his power, and there is a change in the position of the Kakatiyas in their relations with Allutikka, though both remained friends throughout the latter's reign. Two records of Ganapati, dated A.D. 1250 are at Conjeevaram<sup>303</sup>. Kon Kattiyan, the minister of Ganapati, made grants at Little Conjeevaram in that year. The Kakatiya records after A.D. 1250 in Allutikka's kingdom are dated in Allutikka's regnal years. For instance, in the 7th year of Allutikka, at Little Conjeevaram, Brahmi Setti, minister of Ganapati made grants.<sup>304</sup> Friendly relations must have continued between Allutikka and Rudramadevi.

### Allutikka and the Nellore Cholas

Allutikka's contemporary rulers of Nellore were Manmasiddha III and Tikka II. As pointed out elsewhere Allutikka and Manmasiddha were on terms of friendship. And Allutikka's records are found in the Nellore Chola kingdom and those of Manmasiddhi in Allutikka's kingdom. The same relationship continued between Allutikka and Tikka II.

### Allutikka and the Hoysalas

The Hoysala ruler in this period was Somesvara I alias Virasomesvara (A.D. 1234-1262).<sup>305</sup> Unlike in the reign of Tikka I, the Telugu cholas, the Hoysalas and the Yadavas had mutual friendly relations in this reign. In Tikka's time, the Hoysala in their wars defensive and offensive—with the Nellore cholas fared badly for Narasimha II lost his life and Virasanesvara suffered reverses in Tikka's hands. Probably the Hoysalas for while even acknowledged the supremacy of Tikka I.

Allutikka did not lead any expeditions of conquest into the Hoysala kingdom. Neither Virasomesvara did invade the Telugu chola kingdom of Kanchi, in spite of his defeat earlier in the hands of the father-in-law of Allutikka. Foresight, wisdom, political diplomacy and a true estimate of the strength of the enemy i.e. Allutikka, must have prevented Somesvara from attempting to wreak vengeance for his failures in the past in his dealings with the Telugu cholas. The Hoysala officials in the Telugu chola kingdom dated their records in the regnal year of Allutikka. For a record at Little Conjeevaram of the 6th year of Allutikka records the grant by the four pradhani mudalis of Idninanadu in Hoysala rajya i.e. Hoysala kingdom, to the temple.<sup>306</sup> Thus probably, the Hoysalas acknowledged the suzerainty of Allutikka temporarily. The sixth year corresponds to A.D. 1256. Perhaps similar relations between the Telugu cholas and the Hoysalas continued for the rest of Allutikka's reign.

### Allutikka and the Telugu Pallavas

Nagadeva, Abhideva, Malideva, Inumadideva, Viragandagopala and Vijayagandagopala, of the pallavas were ruling in

this period. There are records of Vijayagandagopala at Kanchi dated A.D. 1257 and after and the Kakatiya records therein A.D. 1257, are dated in the regnal year of Vijayagandagopala. It is likely that Allutikka and Vijayagandagopala were political allies as no signs of enmity between the two kings are discernable.

### **Allutikka and the Kadurayas**

Allutikka must have been a friend of the Sambuvarayas and the Kaduvarayas. The Kaduvaraya, contemporary with Allutikka was Kopperunjinga.

### **Allutikka and the Yadavarayas**

Viranarasinga Yadaraya (A.D. 1209-1263) was the Yadavaraya ruler contemporary with Allutikka. The amicable relations between Allutikka and Narasinga are seen from the fact that Lakshmidēvi, the queen of the former was the daughter of the latter.<sup>307</sup> In the record mentioning the Allutikka is mentioned as M.P.C. Allutirukalattideva. Thus Allutikka was the son-in-law of Narasinga.

Though none of Allutikka's records are dated in Chola emperors regnal years—the location of temples, villages and persons—specified in records—invariably show the great influence of the Cholas in the kingdom of Allutikka. Singaladeva, Sarangadhara II of the Yadavas, were ruling at Addanki in this period. Allutikka did not come into contact with these, or the Kota and Natavadi rulers.

### **Manmasiddha III A.D. 1248-1267**

Manmasiddhi III succeeded his father at Nellore and ruled contemporaneously with Allutikka. His earliest record<sup>308</sup> is from Mulakalur dated A.D. 1249. Another record<sup>309</sup> of the year dated in the 6th year of Virarajendra is from Tirunirmalai. The next record is from Nandalur<sup>310</sup> dated A.D. 1250 recording gifts to the temple for the recovery from some illness of M.P.C. Gandagopala alias Manumasittarasar. The Yepilagunta inscription of<sup>311</sup> A.D. 1253 and the 9th year of Virarajendra records gifts by Tikkayadeva, minister of Manmasiddha III.

Manumasiddha's next record<sup>312</sup> is from Kistnapatam (Gudur taluq) dated A.D. 1256 and the 13th year of Virarajendra III recording grants by men of Kollattur alias Gandagopala pattama to the deity named after Manmasiddhi II, father of Tiakka I. His Pentral inscription<sup>313</sup> is dated A.D. 1257. The Nandalur epigraph<sup>314</sup> of the 13th year of Virarajendra chola—s 1179 (A.D. 1257) gives Manmasiddhi's genealogy and records his restoration of Perungandura renamed Koduru to its original residents for the merit of his father (Annajiya) Tirukaladeva C.M. Manumasiddha's record<sup>315</sup> from Pottapi gives a list of birudas at the beginning. Two of Manmasiddha's inscriptions<sup>316</sup> dated in the 15th year of Virarajendra-deva (A.D. 1259) are at Little Conjeevaram and Kistnapatam. The Gundlapalem record of A.D. 1249—Kalayukti—a mistake for A.D. 1258—narrates the fight between Nallasiddha of Nellore and the Yadavas at the junction of Lingalakonda and Erragaddapuram.<sup>317</sup> Another record of the year is at Pentrala<sup>318</sup> recording grants for the prosperity of the kingdom of Manmasiddha by Alladasiddhadeva M of the Telugu Pallavas. In A.D. 1261 at Pentrala,<sup>319</sup> Siddhamadevluva Vijayadeva and Bhimadeva of the Telugu Pallavas made grants desiring the prosperity of Manmasiddhi's kingdom. Manmasiddha's Munganur record<sup>320</sup> (Kavali taluq) records the grant of a village in Poritinadu, a subdivision of Pakanadu by the Pradhani of the king. The next record is from Mandapalle<sup>321</sup> dated in the 18th year of Virarajendra chola (A.D. 1264) mentioning Vijayagandagopala, the son of Gandagopala Tirukalattideva i.e. Tikka I. Here either Vijeyaganda is a mistake for Manmasiddha, or else, he was a brother of Manmasiddha III. The last record<sup>322</sup> is from Little Conjeevaram dated in the 22nd year of Rajendra III corresponding to A.D. 1268.

Some records of the reign bear no date. One such from Nellore records the grant of Errayapalle in Pungainadu. The record at Pulapattur<sup>323</sup> (Rajampet taluq, Cuddapah District) mentions a grant by a servant of M.P.C. Manmasittarasar to a temple at Pulapattur, also called Rajadhiraja Pottapichchola Akimalla Arasurar in Melpakkainadu a subdivision of Adhirajandracholaamandalam. A record at Bezvada dated A.D. 1253 mentions Manumaraja, whose suggested identity

with Manmasiddha III is not satisfactory. The record from Nakinenipalle on the 38th year of Rajaraja III mentions M.P.C. Errasidda and his daughter Chodamadevi. The date is A.D. 1254 corresponding to the 8th year of Rajendra III-A. The relationship of this Errasiddha to Manmasiddha III is not known. A record of A.D. 1408 at Kistnapatam, of the reign of Viradeva I, son of Harihara I, renews a grant of Manmasiddha III and mentions Rajabibhala Rattana in Nellurnadu. Manumasiddha III must have associated his son Tikka (II) in ruling the kingdom from A.D. 1265, the year in which Tikka started issuing inscriptions of his own.

### His Political Relations

Manmasiddha III had a reign over twenty years. He was variously known as Bhujabala viramanmasiddhayadeva C.M., M.P.C Gandagopala Manumasittarasar, Manumasiddharasan, and Manumasiddhadeva C.M. in his records. Probably Tikka II was the crown prince in this reign. Here it may be noted that no particular branch of the Telugu cholas ruled at Pentrala except that a few records of the Telugu cholas of Nellore and Telugu pallavas are found there. Similarly some of Manmasiddha's inscriptions are at Pentrala in which he is given the epithet bhujabalavira. So the statement that "neither mahamandalesvara Manmasiddhayadeva C.M. of KV 43 or Manmasiddharasar of G 39 could have had anything to do with the Pentrala chodas." is wrong, as both the Manmas are identical. And "it is not impossible that Manmasiddha reinstated by Ganapati is identical with Bhujabalavira Manmasiddha C.M."

### Manmasiddha and the Cholas

Emperor Rajendra III was the Chola contemporary of Manmasiddha III. In Professor Sastri's words "very few inscriptions of Rajendra are found outside the Cola country proper" and they are the last traces of a suzerainty that had long ceased to be more than nominal. The latest regnal year cited in the inscriptions of Rajendra III is the thirty-second corresponding roughly to A.D. 1299"<sup>324</sup> Manmasiddha's

allegiance to the Chola emperor is well attested by his records dated in Rajendra's regnal years ranging from the 6th to the 22nd year. Besides, the several topographical names in the records speak for the Chola influence in the Telugu Chola kingdom.

### **Manmasiddha III and the Pandyas**

Manmasiddha came into conflict with the Pandyas. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya's northern expedition was a great success. He took Kanchi and occupied Nellore. It is suggested<sup>325</sup> that the civil war in the Telugu chola kingdom between Manmasiddha and his rival cousins brought about the Pandyan expedition. For just as Manmasiddha sent a deputation to Ganapati asking for help, his rivals probably appealed to the Pandyas to support their cause. In response the Pandyas came, deprived Manmasiddhi of Nellore, crowned his rivals in A.D. 1250 and made grants to Pallikondaperumal at Nellore.<sup>326</sup> But then with the help of the Kakatiya generals Manmasiddhi and his brother Vijayagandagopala reoccupied Nellore driving out his rivals and the Pandyan armies. So long Ganapati lived, the Pandyas did not give further trouble to Manmasiddha. But on the death of Ganapati, they in alliance with Kopperunjinga seem to have taken Nellore for a while.<sup>327</sup> And Manmasiddha secured it again perhaps with the help of the Kakatiyas.

### **Manmasiddha and the Kakatiyas**

Manmasiddha's Kakatiya contemporaries were Ganapati and Rudrama. Ganapati was eagerly awaiting an opportunity to interfere in Vengi politics. When it came towards the close of his reign he made full use of it by conquering completely the Velanandu areas and subduing many of the local kings in the Telugu chola kingdom.

King Manmasiddha III some time in his reign was deprived of his kingdom by his rival cousins, Akkana and Bayyana. Then the king sent his minister Tikkana Samayaji as ambassador to the court of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas at Warangal. Tikkana pleased Ganapati by his capacities chiefly as a poet.

explained the object of his visit and requested his help. Ganapati promised help and rewarded Tikkana with earnings of 9 lakhs of treasure, and some villages—sixty-eight according to Siddhesvara charitra alias Pratapacharitra<sup>328</sup> and 25,000 according to Somadevarajiya. Thus consequent on Tikkana's intervention, Ganapati took up the cause of the exiled Manmasiddhi, and with a vast army marching on both his flanks, invaded the Velanandu country, vanquished its ruler, and burnt his capital. He invested Nellore, drove out Bayyana and regranting his titles to Terala Rudradeva. Ganapati reinstated Manmasiddhi at Nellore, conquered 24 durgas and 68 towns and made a gift of them to Manmasiddhi. Ganapati constructed a tank at Nellore, went against Gangapura, halted on his way to Ganapura and returned to his capital. This account is from Mackenzie Mss.<sup>329</sup>

The prasasti of the Rechala family<sup>330</sup> was the titles—Nellurivirakshetranobharatikamalla i.e. renowned warrior of the heroic battle of Nellore which is compared with the Mahabharata war and Tikka Bayyana pranapahara—stealer of lives of Tikka and Bayya. Another epithet is—Nellurivirakshetranahalla Kalola i.e. one who caused great disorder and confusion in the heroic battle of Nellore. One of the titles of the Srimalla family<sup>331</sup> is Tikkana bayyamatalagonduganda i.e. beheader of Tikkana and Bayyana. These epithets supply important details about the events of the Kakatiya expedition and the battle at Nellore between Manumasiddhi and his partisans including Ganapati on one side and his enemies on the other—Tikka probably a mistake of Akkoma, and Bayyana, the usurpers were killed in the battle by the ancestors of the Recherla and Srimalla families who must have accompanied Ganapati in the expedition. The Bayyana is probably identical with Bayya C.M. who issued records<sup>332</sup> in the reign of Tikka I. One record is at Motupalli dated A.D. 1242 and another with date A.D. 1244. The decisive battle was fought at Nellore. According to one author<sup>333</sup> perhaps Manmasiddhi took refuge during the period of his exile in Pentrala (Kandakur taluq). We may note further that the Telugu works call Manmasiddhi as Mamagandagopala and mistake Rudradeva

**M** for Ganapati. Whether mahamandalesvara Bayyamadeva M and China Bayyanadeva M figuring in an inscription at Trovagunta (Ongole taluq) were Telugu cholas and had any connection with Bayyan chola's not known.

As for the date of the expedition, A.D. 1245 has been suggested.<sup>334</sup> In the account of the Mack. Ms.<sup>335</sup> the date A.D. 1250 is given. But it is more probable that it took place after A.D. 1257 and before A.D. 1260 for the Nandalur epigraph of A.D. 1259 shows that Manmasiddhi III and Ganapati were friends.<sup>336</sup> The record says that to secure the friendship of Ganapati Manmasiddha III fought a great battle on the banks of the Godavari. Thus Manmasiddha was desirous of the friendship of Ganapati which was quite natural. Friendly relations between the Telugu cholas and Rudradeva probably continued under Rodramadevi also and probably were begun much earlier about A.D. 1250 for as seen above, it was with the Kakatiya help that Manmasiddha could beat back the Pandyan invader about A.D. 1250

### **Manmasiddha III and the Yadavas**

Three families of Yadava Kshatriya lineage were ruling locally within the precincts of the Nellore Chola kingdom owing allegiance to its rulers. They were the Yadavas of Addanki, Alavulapadu and Yerragaddapadu. On account of some differences between the suzerain and the feudatories, Manmasiddha III and the Yadavas of Alavulapadu and Erragaddapadu, they came into conflict. The Yadavas revolted against Manmasiddhi and were subdued after war and bloodshed. King Alapoluraja of Alavulapadu, after the payment of Pullari, the grazing tax to Manumasiddi called Nallasiddhi or Siddharaja in the Gundlepalem inscription,<sup>337</sup> left his territories and encamped on the Pennar with his cattle wandered further and halted at Yerragaddapadu. Consequent on the refusal of the Yadavas to pay the Pullari to Nallasidhhi's ambassador, a battle was fought by both parties at the junction of Lingala Konda and Yerragaddapadu in A.D. 1259. On the ground of having lost some calves in the fields of Manmasiddhi III, Katamaraju of Erragaddapadu refused the

payment of the grazing tax to Manmasiddhi III. So battle between the two armies ensued at Somesila on the Penna. Many verses speak about Rana Tikkana, the commander of Manmasiddhi's armies. One verse says<sup>338</sup> that when he made his horse jump on the enemy and shouted, even heroes had a fright, probably the battles—between Alapola or Valluraja and Manmasiddhi and Katamaraju and Khadga Tikkana formed part of the war between the Telugu Cholas and the Yadavas. Tikkana distinguished himself in this battle. A story is current that Tikka who lost his life in the battle, was brought back to life by the blessing of Vemulavada Bhima and thus became Siddaya Tikkana.<sup>339</sup> At Somasila which is 45 miles from Nellore on the boundary of Cuddapah and Nellore on the banks of the Penna, is a figure of a hero—probably of general Tikkana in the mandapa before the Somesvara temple<sup>340</sup> At Tikkapadu near Pattapurayi near Nellore is a stone with the figure of a soldier on a horse—said to have been that of Ranatikkana.<sup>341</sup>

Singaladeva and Sarngapani II were the Yadava contemporaries of Manmasiddhi III at Addanaki Sarngapani claims to have been a feudatory of the Yadavas of Devagiri and seems to have become a source of constant trouble to Manmasiddhi III. Manmasiddhi vanquished him for Tikkana says that Manmasiddhi had a very easy victory Saranga, the Maharatta subordinate.<sup>342</sup> Here Maharattas are none other than the Yadavas of Devagiri. Manumasiddhi must have achieved this victory in A.D.1253 soon after the accession of Sarangapani to the throne.

### Manmasiddha III and the Telugu Pallavas

Nagadeva, Abhideva, Malideva, Inumadideva, Viragandagopala, Vijayagandagopala were the Telugu Pallavas contemporary with Manmasiddha at Guntur and Nellore. Manmasiddha III has been frequently identified with Gandagopala, Nallasiddha, Bhimaraja, Siddhaya. Vijayaditya (Biji), Manmagandagopala and Vijayagandagopala. He is often wrongly mentioned as Manmasiddhi Vijayagandagopala or Manmavijayagan-gopala by Sewell and so his last date is given as A.D. 1261.<sup>343</sup>

Tikkana says that Manmasiddha vanquished king Vijaya, the leader of his great enemy kings in the battle at Prayeru with great valour and crushed the pride of Vijaya<sup>344</sup> Vijaya no doubt refers to great Telugu Pallava Vijayagandagopala. Manmasiddhi III came into conflict with him. The conflict must have come about thus—Probably Vijayagandagopala at the head of the enemies of Manmasiddhi—Akkana, Bayyana so invaded the Telugu chola territories some time after A.D. 1250 the earliest date for Vijayagandagopala. His progress was stayed at Prayeru—evidently a local stream in the Nellore District—by the armies of Cholanamanmasiddhi and the battle was fought there. Probably, the armies of Manmasiddhi III were commanded by Ranatikkana. In the beginning of the fight, the armies of Manmasiddhi seem to have suffered a defeat for a verse extant in Telugu says Tikka fled<sup>345</sup> when pursued by the invading armies of king Vijaya and left his birudas—insignia in the tank at Penutulli or Penujallipalli. But later on the Telugu cholas proved successful and Vijayagandagopala, finally was vanquished as borne but by the testimony of Tikkana, No evidence of any further conflicts between Manmasiddhi III and Vijayagandagopala is available.

At Pentrala, Adlada Siddhadeva M, Siddhaduadmala Vijayadeva M and Bhimadeva of the Telugu Pallavas were the contemporaries of Manmasiddha III, They acknowledged the suzerainty of Manmasiddha III, which is attested by their records dated A.D. 1258 and 1261. Khandevaya, Bhimadeva, and Siddhadeva were the Pallavas at Cuddapah, with whom, Manmasiddha III did not come into conflict.

### **Manmasiddha and the Pallavas**

Kopperunjinga, the most powerful of the later Pallavas, had a long and stormy career as seen from his records and set up himself a defact independent ruler in the period of political confusion that ensued. Having suffered a defeat in the Pandyan hands, Kopperunjinga drove the Telugu cholas from Tondamandam and advanced into Vengi as far as Draksharama. His records are found at Tripurantakam, and Draksharama. Kopperunjinga was vanquished bp Ganapati of the Kakatiyas

in A.D 1249, whose supremacy he had to acknowledge in his northern dominions.

Kopperunjinga's records dated in his regnal years range from his 2nd to the 36th year from A.D 1243 to A.D. 1279. His Tripurautakam records, in Nagari, Telugu and Grantha—mention him as Avanyavanpsambhava, sarvajana--Khadgamalla. Nissankamala Maharaja simha, the son of king Jiya and Silavati and record his building activities in the Chidamabaram temple. Khadganalla, the sanskrit epithet.- same as the title in tamil. Sakalabhuvana, Chakravartin, Avaniyalappirandan i.e. the one (who was) born to rule in the earth, and Kadavaraya—the Tamil form of Avanyavana sambava are his epithets mentioned in records the tiruvannamalai inscription of Kopperunjinga mentions that this son drove the Telunger to the north to perish. "Here Telungar refers to the Kakatiyas. In advancing into the Telugu country Kopperunjinga must have come into conflict with Manmasiddhi III either as an ally or enemy. Probably Manmasiddhi III had to face him in opposition as he was an enemy of the Kakatiyas and Manmasiddhi III and the Kakatiyas were allies. Ganapati vanquished Kopperunjinga about A.D, 1259 and Ambadeva, a feudatory of the Kakatiyas had the title—Kadavaraoavimardaka<sup>346</sup> i.e. vanquisher of Kopperunjinga. Along with Ambadeva. Manmasiddha also must have participated in the fight against Kopperunjinga—It is not impossible that he suffered a reverse in Kopperunjinga's hands along with the Kakatiyas.

#### **Manmasiddha II and the Pandyas**

The Pandyan power was growing in this period under Mavavarman Sundara Pandya and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. The Pandyas conquered Virasomesvara and Kopperunjinga. They vanquished the Kakatiya governors at Kanchi, attacked Nellore, conquered Manmasiddha III and performed Virabhisheka at Nellore.

Tikkana says that Manmasiddhi III purged the pride of the lord of Dravida.<sup>347</sup> Here lord of Dravida is ruler of Tamilnad cannot refer to the cholas for emperor Rajendra III was an ally of the Telugu cholas and so of Manmasiddhi. So the reference applies to the Pandyas, the most powerful at the time in Tamil land. As the Pandyas were of late vanquished by Rajendra III and Tikka I, as a counter measure, they invaded the

Telugu chola kingdom after Manmasiddha recovered his power from his rival cousins with the help of the Kakatiya armies. Manmasiddhi vanquished the invader and beat back the Pandyas. The identity of the Pandyan king vanquished by Manmasiddha is not definite.

### **Manmasiddha and the Kayasthas**

The Kayasthas, as feudatories of the Kakatiyas, ruled an extensive kingdom from Warangal to Marjavadi with almost independant powers. Gangayasahini and Jannigadeva were the contemporaries of Manmasiddha. According to Tikkana,<sup>348</sup> Manmasiddhi III sent Gangayasahini to rule over the kingdoms conquered by him from Rakkasa Gangana and restored them to him. When Gangaya came under the Telugu cholas is not known. Probably he invaded the Telugu choda kingdom which Manmasiddhi was in exile, but vanquished by Manmasiddhi with the help of the Kakatiyas. Then Gangaya acknowledged Telugu chola suzerainty.

### **Manmasiddha and the Hoysalas**

The Hoysala contemporaries of Manmasiddhi were Somesvara or Virasomesvara or Soyideva (A.D. 1234-1263) and Narasimha III or Siranarasimha 280 (A.D. 1254-1291).<sup>349</sup> Tikkana says that Manmasiddhi vanquished the king of Karnata<sup>350</sup> Karnata refers to Hoysala kingdom and the ruler must refer to either Somesvara or Narasimha III. As Somesvara did not lead any expeditions into the Telugu chola kingdom and his officials acknowledged Allutikka's suzerainty, it must have happened that Narasimha III, to avenge the failures of Somesvara in Tikka I's hands, invaded the Telugu chola kingdom of Nellore and was defeated by Manmasiddhi III. This probably happened about A.D. 1263 after the death of Somesvara.

### **Manmasiddha and the Western Gangas**

The contemporary of Manmasiddhi among the Western Gangas was Rakkesa Gangana ruling in a part of Renadu. Tikkana says<sup>351</sup> that Manmasiddhi conquered Rakkesa Gangana probably Manmasiddhi led an expedition into the Cuddapah tracts vanquished the local rulers including Rakkesa in

Gangana and Gangayasahini, reinstated them in their respective kingdoms and appointed Gangaya as the suzerain over them.

Manmasiddha must have maintained friendly relations with Allutikka of Kanchi and the local rulers in the Telugu chola kingdom. According to the genealogy in the Nandalur epigraph,<sup>352</sup> Manmasiddha had an elder brother whose name is not known. Probably he is Vijayagandagopala, brother of Manmasiddha III figuring in another inscription. The Pavvada epigraph<sup>353</sup> dated A D 1239 (Vinukonda Taluk) shows that Manmasiddhayadeva C.M. was issuing records ten years prior to his actual rule. A record at Kavali<sup>354</sup> mentions Jagadobbaganda Kamayadeva M and his son mahamandalesvara Siddhayadeva M whose relationship to Manmasiddha III is not known.

Manmasiddha was great warrior which is borne out by his achievements and epithets, such as—Tribhuvanapandaru, rayavesyvhujanga, Khandiyaraya, rayagandagopala and Kaliyugarjuna. Bhagirathanvaya, sagarakula, and parivara-sannaba were some of his titles mentioned by Tikkana. Manmasiddha purged the pride of the enemy kings and was king to the vanquished.<sup>355</sup> Ketana says that Manmasiddha was a Hanumantu in destroying enemies, a meru in valour, and a vairarayavesyabhujanga.<sup>356</sup> Tikkana says that in the battlefield Manmasiddhi kills the elephants, disturbs the infantry by pouncing on the soldiers and cutting their umbrellas. He looks the same while fighting the enemy in the battlefield and when victorious.<sup>357</sup> In Telugu literature, Manmasiddha III is mentioned as Siddhi, cholana—Manmasiddhi and Manmaksmapala and Manmakshamavallabha.

### Tikka II A.D. 1265-1281

Tikka II was the son and successor of Manmasiddha III. His records are few compared with those of his father and grandfather. The earliest inscription is from Tondamanad near Kalahasti dated A.D. 1265 mentioning him as Tikkayadeva M.<sup>358</sup> The next record is from Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1267 mentioning Siddhayadeva C.M. and his parents—mahamandalesvara Perumandideva. C.M. and Demaladevi.<sup>359</sup> In that

year and A.D. 1269 at Pentrola mahamendalesvara Bijjaraju Siddhayadeva C M. made grants.<sup>360</sup> The record from Conjeevaram dated in the 20th year of Vijayagandagopala registers some grants by Siddharasan.<sup>361</sup> Of the two records<sup>362</sup> dated A D 1271 at Tripurantakam and Nandalur the latter records gifts by Pevmadidevarasa, the younger brother of Prasadi Tikkarasa, son of Jagadobbaganda Kamarasar. The next record is from Kistnapatam<sup>363</sup> dated in the 2nd year of Inumaditiru kaluttideva registering gifts to Manmasiddhisvara temple by the merchants of Kollitturai alias Gandagopala pattana. The record at Kunupartipadu<sup>364</sup> is dated A.D. 1284 and the third year of Manumagandagopala. Thus the earliest date for Manmagandagopala is A.D. 1281 which must have been the last date for Tikka II.

### His Political Relations

Tikka II was variously known as Tirukalatti, Tikkayadeva M and Inumadi Tirukalatti. He had a reign of fifteen years. In the Kistrapatam record he styled himself as Tribhuvana-chakravarti, the glorious Inumadi, Tirukalattideva. Thus like Allutikka, Tikka II assumed the imperial chola epithet and started issuing records in his own regnal years. Towards the close of his reign from A.D. 1278. But this does not mean, as has been suggested<sup>365</sup> that Tikka's accession was in A.D. 1278.

### Tikka and the Cholas

The contemporary chola emperor was Rajendra III. There is no evidence of Tikka's loyalty to him and signs of chola influence in the Nellore chola kingdom are not many in this period—Rajendra's reign lasted till 1279 and Tikka began issuing records in his own regnal years assuming the epithet—Tribhuvanachakravarti in A.D. 1278. In this policy of his towards the Cholas, Tikka II followed the example of Allutikka of the Kanchi. The decline of the Cholas must have encouraged Tikka to assert his power.

### Tikka and the Kakatiyas

Queen Rudrama was the Kakatiya ruler at the time. Perhaps friendly relations prevailed between Tikka II and Rudrama as between Manmasiddha III and Rudrama.

The Racherla family<sup>366</sup> has the title—Tirukalarayarajyas-thapana charya—the chief mover in establishing Tirukalaraja on the throne and the Vipparla family bore the epithet.<sup>367</sup> The destroyer of the elephant forces of the confederacy of the kings of Konkena, Gurjara, Dravila, and Nalladiraju at the battle on the Aduri plains and secured the insigonda and the birudas from him. One of the several titles of the Paisala family is Chikkatirukalubramagulapradhanikaraganda, the hero amongst the pradhanis of Chikkatirukala. All these birudas are said to have been acquired by Potugantimalli after Vanquishing Telugu Bijjana. Evidently all these titles were secured by the ancestors of the families who were in the service of the Kakatiyas. Tirukala may refer to Tikka II in which case, it may be concluded from the titles mentioned above, that with the help of the Kakatiyas, Tikka II fought some battles at Aduru and other places and vanquished his enemies, who are not specified. Perhaps Chikkatirukala is applied to him to distinguish him from Tirukala I i.e. Tikka I and Allutikka and means same as Inumaditikka. Probably a member of the Paisala family was an important and valiant minister of Tikka II.

### Tikka and other Rulers

Inumadideva and Vijayagandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas, Sarugapani II, Madhava II and Vijegadeva of the Yadavas, were contemporaneous with Tikka II. Tikka II and Vijayagandagopala would not have come into conflict with one another for Vijayagandagopala must have found the Telugu chodas enjoying the Kakatiyas support too strong for him. No doubt the Addanki Yadavas owed allegiance to Tikka II.

Tikka II must have maintained friendly relations with Allutikka Perumadideva CM, and his son Siddhayadeva CM, Prasadi Tikkarasa and perumandidevarasa, sons of Jaga-

dobbagandakamarasar, Gunda...Yadava C.M. are some of the Telugu cholas contemporaneous with Tikka II. Of these Perumanandi is probably identical with Girakki perumandi-devan, son of Kamarasar figuring as the officer of Vijayagandagopala making gift in his 21st year (A.D. 1271). The relationship of these Telugu cholas to Tikka II is not known. But obviously they must have owed allegiance to him.

### Manmagandagopala A.D. 1231-1299

Manmagandagopala was the son of Manmasiddha III alias Nellasiddha III and the younger brother and successor of Tikka II. His accession took place in the month of magha in A.D. 1281. His earliest records available are dated in his 3rd regnal year, At Kodavalur in that year corresponding to A.D. 1284, in Mandainadu, the sons of ryots—Kami Reddi and Cholappi Reddi<sup>368</sup> made a grant to the local temple. Another record is at Akepadu also known as Manumattikapuram and mentions Nallasiddhi-evidently the father of Manmagandagopala<sup>369</sup>. The next record is from Tirumallavayil of his 4th year recording an order by M.P.C. signed by Gandagopala.<sup>370</sup> Manmaganda's next record is from Vasili (Atmakur taluq) dated A.D. 1286 vyaya recording a gift by mahamandalesvara Ma...deva M for the merit of his parents.<sup>371</sup> In A.D. 1289 at Podile, mahamandalesvara Dhatma vijayadityadeva M granted land in Vengipura for the merit of Manmagandagopaladeva.<sup>372</sup> The next record<sup>373</sup> is from Pushpagiri dated A.D. 1294 Jaya. Manmagandagopala's inscription from Murihipudi<sup>374</sup> dated A.D. 1296 in the reign of Prataparudra, is mutilated. The next record is from Narasaraopet<sup>375</sup> dated A.D. 1297. Hemalambin. It gives the ancestry and prasasti of mahamandalesvara Manmagandagopaladeva C.M. and records his grant of land in Padumavaraganda Siddha puram to got Chennakesava at Konidena. The record from Nellore dated in the 9th year of Gandagopaladeva and 1299 records that M.P.C. Ranganatha alias Rajagandagopaladevan made grants to the deity at Nellore alias Vikramasingapura in Chedikulamanikkaralandu a sub division of Jayangondacholamandalam. An undated record

at Konideve registers a gift by Manmagandagopala to Battu Tikkaya. The Tiruppaliavanam inscription dated in the cyclic year pramadi—records the remission of taxes on the land by manamandalesvara Pratapa rudra deva. The taxes were formerly endowed by (Gan) dagopala deva for lamps in the temple.

### **His Political Relations**

Manmagandagopala had a reign of eighteen years. He was known as Manumasiddhi, Manmagandagopaladeva C.M. and Gandagopaladeva. He has been wrongly identified with Manumasiddha III, and Viragandagopala by Sewell,<sup>376</sup> and with Rajagandagopala alias Ranganathan by another writer.<sup>377</sup> Manmagandagopala was a distinguished warrior and his political achievements were significant. He must have associated Rajagandagopala alias M.P.C. Ranganathan in the Governance of the kingdom from A.D. 1290, the year from which Ranganatha counted his regnal years.

Some of Manmagandagopala's epithets in his prasasti beginning with Cheranasaroruha etc., are svarasirabi Kandukakridavinoda, Sevauna katakavenukabalanadeva pavakepa mana, dravilabalavardhiparisodhana, badaba nala rayagandagopala, vihitahita manabhanga and Rajavesya bhujanga. Some of his other titles were Uraiya Puravaradhisvara, Jagadobaganga, danavamurari, ariraya, gandagopalarahutta<sup>378</sup> etc.

### **Manmagandagopala and the Cholas**

The reign of emperor Rajendra III, the last of the imperial cholas ended prior to Manmagandagopala's accession. So the question of Manmagandagopala's allegiance to the cholas emperors does not arise. Nevertheless his title—the lord of the city of Uraiya and the topographical names in some of his records speak for the chola influence in the kingdom

### **Manmagandagopala and the the Kakatiyas**

The Kakatiyas rulers in this period were Rudrama and pratapa rudradeva. Manmagandagopala's records show that

during the major part of his reign, he ruled independently owing no allegiance to any suzerain power and issuing records in his own regnal years. His records dated A.D. 1296 and after, attest Manmagandogopala's acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Kakatiyas, under Prataparudra. The circumstances that brought about this change in the political status of Gandagopala are not very clear. An inscription says<sup>379</sup> that general Adidemma invaded Nellore and killed a Telugu chola and the Narasaraopet inscription<sup>380</sup> tells us that Manmagandagopalabhupati owed his prosperity to king Prataparudra. The circumstances that brought about this change in the political status of Gandagopala are not very clear. An inscription says that General Adidemma invaded Nellore and killed a Telugu chola and the Narasaraopet inscription tells us that Manmagandagopalabhupati owed his prosperity to king Prataparudra (A.D. 1297). These show that there was a kakatiya invasion of the Telugu chola kingdom under the leadership of Adidemma by A.D. 1297; and Manmagandagopala, opposed the enemy, was vanquished and re-instated in his kingdom. As we are aware of that the Telugu cholas of Nellore and the Kakatiyas were allies during the last two reigns, the motives for the rupture must be sought for.

The Kayasthas were very powerful in this period under Ambadeva, the last and the greatest of the line who shook off allegiance to the kakatiyas, and was a dynamic figure in the south Indian politics of the time. He interfered in Vengi politics as often as possible. In one of his records dated A.D. 1291<sup>381</sup> he claims to have established Manmagandagopala on the throne. Thus Ambadeva was a friend of Manmagandagopala. As none of Manmagandagopala's records are available between A.D. 1289 and 1296, it is probable that he and his kingdom experienced some trouble from his enemies—probably the kakatiyas, resulting in the loss of his throne, and was restored to power by Ambadeva by A.D. 1291. In A.D. 1294 Prataparudra II claimed to have killed Manmagandagopala<sup>382</sup> which must be taken to mean defeat, for records show that Manuma was alive after that date. This means a further kakatiya invasion into Nellore where Manmagandagopala was

vanquished. Later about A.D. 1296 Manmagandagopala, rebelled with the help of Ambadeva and was conquered Adidemma. Consequently from A.D. 1296 onwards, he was loyal to the kakatiyas.

The Recherla family has the title—gandagopala ripurayamumamardana—the destroyer of the pride of the enemies of gandagopala.<sup>383</sup> Some of the titles borne by the Sannaguru family are Gandagopala, Kanchi rakshapalaka, and chodarajyas thapana charya.<sup>384</sup> The Puliyala family prasasti<sup>385</sup> has the epithets—gandagopala and Kanchi rakshapalaka. If Gandagopala refers to Manmagandagopala, mentioned thus in some of his records, it may be inferred that some of the members of the Recherla, Sannaguru and Pulayala families in the service of the kakatiyas, assisted Manumagandagopala generally in fighting his enemies and continuing the Telugu chola control over Kanchi and in strengthening his power on the whole.

### **Manmagandagopala and the Yadavas**

Manmagandagopala claims to have defeated the Sevuna and Kataka rulers and destroyed the armies of Dravilabala<sup>386</sup> i.e. armies of the south. He must have won these victories fighting on behalf of the Kakatiyas in their expeditions against the Yadavas, the Kings of Orissa, and the Pandyas after A.D. 1297. The Yadava contemporaries of Manumagandagopala were Ramadeva or Rama Chandra (A.D. 1271-1309) at Devugiri, Sarngapanideva at Panagal, and Sarngadhara II. Madhava II and Vijegadeva M at Addanki. As the Addanki Yadavas were feudatories of the Telugu cholas and the Panugal yadavas of the Kakatiyas, the Yadavas vanquished by Manmagandagopala were none other than Yadava, Ramachandra and his armies.

### **Manmagandagopala and the Eastern Gangas**

The Eastern Ganga emperor in this period was Narasimha II (A.D. 1278-79—1307-8). The Kolani chiefs—Induluri Rudradeva and Annayadeva, the feudatories of Rudrama were ruling the country from Warangal to Simhachalm.<sup>387</sup> One of the titles of Kolani Rudra is Kalingaraya vibhala. Some of

his records are available. Two records<sup>388</sup> of Annayadeva dated A.D. 1291 and 1293 are at Tripurantakam and Draksharama, Rudra's records<sup>389</sup> show that they were ruling till A.D. 1326. Manmagandagopala must have participated and won some victories in the Kakatiya expeditions into Kalinga under Rudra and Anna either towards the close of the reign of Rudrama or at the beginning of Prataparudra's reign.

### Manumagandagopala and the Pandyas

The Pandyan contemporaries of Manmagandagopala were—jatavarman Sundarapandya II (A.D. 1276), Maravarman Vikramapandya (A.D. 1283) and Jatavarman Srivallabha (A.D. 1291) and Jatavarman Virapandya II (A.D. 1296-1299).<sup>390</sup> Probably Jatavarman Virapandya or his predecessors had an expedition of conquest into the Telugu chola territories before A.D. 1397 and vanquished by Manmagandagopala

### Manmagandagopala and the Kadavarayas

A Kadavaraya, the subordinate of Rudrama, claims to have driven Manumagandagopala and occupied his kingdom.<sup>391</sup> This seems to suggest that Manmagandagopala attempted to shake off the yoke of the Kakatiyas, probably in the beginning of his reign and was subdued by kadavaryya who accepted Kakatiya suzerainty under Ganapati about A.D. 1250. This Kadavaraya is no doubt Kopperunjinga of the later Pallavas. Ambadeva of the Kayasthas conquered this Kadavaraya and reinstated Manmagandagopala in his kingdom. This shows that Ambadeva threw off allegiance to Prataparudra and against him and his feudatories, in favour of the Telugu cholas of Nellore. Obviously Kopperunjinga's allegiance to the Kakatiyas was short lived.

### Manmagandagopala's other Victories

Manmagandagopala's title—taking pleasure in playing the game of ball with the head of Prithvisvara is borne by chola Tikka I as attested by Tikkana's statement in his Nirvachanottara Ramayana.<sup>392</sup> The reference here is to Prithvisvara,

the last of the Velanandu chodas who was killed by Tikka I. As the contemporary king of Manmagandagopala bearing the name Prithvisvara is known; probably Manmagandagopala inherited the title from Tikka I. His title—Jagadobbaganda is borne by the later Reddi kings. According to the Narasaraopet inscription,<sup>393</sup> Nallasiddhi had five sons who were equal to the five Pandavas in all respects. The eldest of them was Manmagandagopala who claims to have taken Kandupura as one of his titles is Kanchipura tri netra.<sup>394</sup> As Nallasiddhi, an uncle of Tammassiddhi occupied Kanchi and Allutikka ruled there, probably Manmagandagopala assumed the title on the basis of their successes than his own. The Telugu chola kingdom of Nellore under Manmagandagopala was extensive, including Kanchi for Allutikka's kingdom on his death was absorbed into the Nellore kingdom and was ruled over by Governors acknowledging Telugu chola suzerainty.

Lastly, we may note the suggestion<sup>395</sup> that there were two persons of the name Manmagandagopala I whose head was cut off by a general of Prataparudra and the second who was a subordinate of the kakatiyas, further that the former was originally dispossessed of his kingdom and installed by Ambadeva and later on was succeeded by Rajagandagopala where as the latter person was governing in the northern portion of the Nellore district and also a portion of the Guntur district as a feudatory of the kakatiyas. The suggestions are baseless and Manmagandagopala is one single person and not two. In coming to this conclusion, we must set aside the statements in some of the records of Prataparudra and Ambadeva about Manmagandagopala. For Prataparudra claims to have killed Manmagandagopala,<sup>396</sup> whom subsequently Ambadeva claims to have re-instated. As in the case of the data in the Tammassiddhi records, Prataparudra's claim must be taken to mean only a victory over Manmagandagopala, and nothing more.

#### **Rajagandagopala alias Ranganatha A.D. 1299-1325**

Rajagandagopala alias Ranganatha was the successor of Manmagandagopala to whom his relationship is not known. Several of his records dated in his own regnal years are found all over his kingdom. In his earliest record<sup>397</sup> dated in his

2nd regnal year from Tirruvottur registering an order of his, he is mentioned as M.P.C. The next record is from Tiruppalavanam dated in the 5th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajagandagopadeva recording a grant by a person of Virudaraja bhayankaranallur in Kakkuluranadu a sub-division of Ikkattukottam in Jayangonda cholamandalam.<sup>398</sup> The 5th year corresponds to A.D. 1295. In A.D. 1296 and the 6th year of Vijayagandagopala M.P.C. Ranganathan alias Rajagandagopala granted Alangadu in Mundainadu the god at Nellore.<sup>399</sup> The next record<sup>400</sup> is dated A.D. 1299 and the 9th year of M.P.C. the glorious Ranganathan alias Rajagandagopaladevan of Nellore alias Vikramasingapura in Chadikalamanikkavalanadu, in Jayangondacholamandalam. In the next record<sup>401</sup> also from Nellore dated A.D. 1302 Plavanga and the 12th year of M.P.C. Ranganatha alias Rajagandagopala deva, Nellore is said to have been located in Padainadu in Chodikula manikka Valanadu in Jayangondachola mandalam. The Viranna Kanupur epigraph<sup>402</sup> of A.D. 1300 and the 9th year of Rajagandagopaladeva, records a grant by M.P.C. Rajagandagopaladeva, at Nellore in Pedainadu in Jayakulamanikkavalanadu in Jayangondachola mandalam. In A.D. 1309 while Ranganatha<sup>403</sup> was ruling the earth, king Tiruvegalanatha granted Katrayapadu renamed as Tiruvengadanatha chaturveididangam, to Brahmins. Here Ranganatha is evidently M.P.C. Rajagandagopala, The next inscription<sup>404</sup> is from Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1310 and the 25th year of M.P.C. Rajagandagopala. Here either of the dates is wrong for A.D. 1310 is Rajagandagopala's 20th year and 25th year corresponds to A.D. 1315. The Tiruvorriyur inscription<sup>405</sup> of the 21st year (A.D. 1311) records an order of M.P.C. The next record is from Nellore<sup>406</sup> dated A.D. 1315 and the 25th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajagandagopaladeva M.P.C. Another record of the 25th year<sup>407</sup> from Conjeevaram records an order of M.P.C. the record is from Attur<sup>408</sup> is dated in the 26th year of M.P.C. The next record<sup>409</sup> is from Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1316 expired, recording that in Prataparudra's reign, general Muppidinayaka came to Kanchi, installed Manavira as governor and granted two villages worth Gandago-

palamadai to the deity. Earlier in the 21st year at Little Conjeevaram, M.P.C. ordered the grant of Tukankudal in Virvelurnadu the district of Urrukkattu kottam for Rajagandagopalasandi.<sup>410</sup> The record from Padi<sup>411</sup> (Tiruvalidayam) in the 23rd or 33rd year of M.P.C. records the grant of a village. The record<sup>412</sup> from Vayalaikkavalur is dated in the 29th year of Gandagopala.

There are some undated records of the reign at Conjeevaram, Tirruvallur, Tenneri, Ramagiri, in which the king is mentioned as M.P.C. or P.C. Three Pandyan records<sup>413</sup> at Tirumalaiganda Kottai—two dated in the 8th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Parakrama Pandya and Koneri maikondan mention Tiruvadaiyan Devapiran alias Rajagandagopala of Maniayur. A record<sup>414</sup> at Little Conjeevaram mentions an order of M.P.C. granting Attuputtur in Nirvelurnadu in Urrukkottu Kottam for Rajagandagopalasandi. A record at Kalahasti<sup>415</sup> refers to the transactions of the 7th year of Rajagandagopaladeva. Rajagandagopala figures as the signatory in the order of M.P.C. of the 21st year.<sup>416</sup> A record from Kovur (Duvur taluq), of cyclic year Vijaya mentions Rajagandagopala.<sup>417</sup> The Mallam record is dated in the 11th year of Rajagandagopala corresponding to A.D. 1301 or 1302.<sup>418</sup> The record from Little Conjeevaram<sup>419</sup> quoting the 8th year of Rajaraja III mentions the grant of Tirdurai in Amarurnadu in Pulalkottam by Rajagandagopala. The last record of the reign is from Tiruppalaivanam<sup>420</sup> dated in the 35th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajagandagopaladeva.

### His Political Relations

Like his predecessors from Allutikka onwards, except Manmasiddha III, Rajagandagopala issued records dated in his own regnal years, which range from his 2nd to the 35th year. As the records of his predecessor Manmagandagopala are found till A.D. 1299 and the 9th year of Rajagandagopala, probably the latter ruled conjointly with the former till that year. We may note here that Viragandagopala whose relationship to Rajagandagopala or Manmagandagopala is not known, was issuing records almost simultaneously with Rajagandagopala from A.D. 1262 onwards.

By the time of the assumption of independence by Rajagandagopala, the Chola empire was a thing of the past though its influence is well attested by Rajagandagopala's records mentioning several Chola topographical names. He boldly assumed the title Tribhuvana chakravarti and it is suggested that "it looks as if he took the place of the cholas and was a rival of Rudra and Prataparudra."

### **Rajagandagopala and the Kakatiyas**

The Kakatiya contemporary of Rajagandagopala was Prataparudra the last of the last of line, who extended his power far and wide especially in the southern direction into the interior of the Pandyan kingdom by sending expeditions of conquest under the lead of great generals. His records are found as far as Jambukesvaram, and he took Kanchi from Ravivarman.

Rajagandagopala, unlike Manumagandagopala did not owe allegiance to the Kakatiyas, and so came into conflict with them. The expedition of Muppidinayaka, the Kakatiya general into the south by A.D. 1316 was a success as evidenced by the many records of Prataparudra in the south. Muppidinayaka drove Kerala Ravivarman from Kanchi and installed Manavira, obviously a member of Telugu chola family as Governor there. Manavira remained in that position for some years and is probably identical with Manavijaya whose signature is found at the end of the two records from Tiruvarriyur and Aittale Conjeevaram dated in the 2nd and the 7th regnal years. The former records the remission of taxes on shepherds for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple and the latter registers gifts to the temples, both by the orders of M.P.C. A record of Prataparudra is at Tiruppalaivanam. At the time of Muppisdinayaka's inscription at Conjeevaram of A.D. 1316, the standard coin there was Gandagopalamudai issued M.

At Nellore is a Kakatiya epigraph dated A.D. 1315. The Kakatiya campaign, began first with the attack of the southern portion of the Nellore district. Paddrudra, son of Muppidinayaka, and the general in charge of the expedition, declares

that he frightened Sriranganatha and scared him away from the battlefield.<sup>421</sup> Sriranganatha is no doubt Ranganatha alias Rajagandagopala and he offered battle to the Kakatiyas when they moved southwards, suffered a reverse and submitted to the enemy.<sup>422</sup> And the Kakatiyas probably annexed the southern portion of Nellore district in or before Muppidi's capture of Conjeevaram the next year and perhaps that ended the Kakatiya campaign. So from A.D. 1315 till the end of his reign Rajagandagopala must have recognised Kakatiya suzerainty and their governor Manavira or Manavijaya at Kanchi. Incidentally it may be noted here, that Manavira's identification with Manmasiddha Gandagopala III<sup>423</sup> is incorrect.

### **Rajagandagopala and the Pandyas**

Rajagandagopala came into conflict with the Pandyas—Vira, Vikrama, Sundara, and Parakrama. When Prataparudra was preoccupied with Muslim invasions, the Pandyas invaded Kanchi and took it driving Manavira, the Kakatiya governor from there. This was followed by the Kakatiya expedition into the south led by Muppidinayaka and Recharla Erradacha. Erradacha met the Pandyas in the vicinity of Kanchi, and vanquished them in the battle that ensued, presented the booty including a huge emerald and golden throne to Prataparudra, who conferred on him the titles—Panchapandyadalivibhala, and Kanchikavatachurakara. In the war with the Pandyas, the Telugu cholas, Rajagandagopala, Manavira must have distinguished themselves. Erradacha's Pandyan victories are mentioned in Singabhupaliya and a verse in Telugu. In the latter, he is mentioned as Pandyarajagajakesari <sup>424</sup> Consequent on the victory, Kanchi came under the Telugu Cholas once again. A record in A.D. 1319 Manavira was reinstated as Governor of Kanchi by Muppidinayaka. A record of Prataparudra is in the Jambakesvara temple at Trichinopoly. It must be noted that there were no two expeditions into the south in the reign of Prataparudra, as has been wrongly supposed by some.<sup>425</sup>

## Rajagandagopala and the Kings

Tiruvangadanatha mahipala also known as king Vengadesa known from two records at Katravayapadu with date A.D. 1209 was a feudatory of Rajagandagopala. His descent is not known.

Rajagandagopala has been confused<sup>426</sup> with Manumagandagopala and the latter with Manavira or Manavijaya. At the end of some records, instead of appending his usual signature Rajagandagopala called himself a devotee of Arulalanatha or Allalanatha. Manavijaya is taken to have been another name of Rajagandagopala in the statement "in a Tiruvorriyur inscription he signs his name as Manavijaya."<sup>427</sup> which has no basis. We may note that Rajagandagopala is different from his namesake, who was a feudatory of Rajaraja III<sup>428</sup> and also from Rajagandagopalan of Manaiyur (figuring in the three Pandyan records at Tirumalgandamkottai. Besides, his identification with Manmasiddha<sup>429</sup> is wrong.

On the whole, the Telugu chola kingdom, which experienced a Pandyan and Kakatiya expedition in this period was slowly disintegrating. Rajagandagopala does not seem to have come into conflict with the local powers in Vengi. He owed allegiance in the beginning of his reign to Vijayagandagopala of the Telugu pallavas in whose 6th year one of his records is dated.

## Viragandagopala A.D. 1292-1302

Viragandagopala of the Nellore cholas ruled for a decade from A.D. 1292. He dated his inscriptions in his own regnal years. His earliest records available are dated in his corresponding to A.D. 1293. Two of them are at Tiruppukkali<sup>430</sup> Another is at Tirukachchuiyur recording the grant of land in Ottankadu as devandana by Panchanadivanan Arunagiriperumal Nilugangaraiyan after purchasing it from Tamburan in Suratturadu, a subdivision of Puliur Kottam in Jayagondachola mandalam.<sup>431</sup> Of Viragandagopala's third year, there are three records<sup>432</sup> at Little Conjeevaram, Kunnattur and Ramagiri. The earliest among them mentions Rajaraja-

puram, a sub-division of Venkanrakottam, and the mentions Rajarajasasikula chalukki Viranarasimhadeva Yadavarya. In the 4th year of Viragandagopala Panchanadivaman Arumugiri Perumal Nilagangaraiyan made grants at Kunnattur on behalf of the king <sup>433</sup> The record from Vīshar also of the 4th year records—grant by Tyagasamudrapattai Nallasiddharaiyan Vijayadevan of Velasaru, alias Uttamasolanallur situated in Virpadunadu, a sub-division of Kaliyurkottam, a district of Jayangandasolamandalam.<sup>434</sup> The Tiruppukkuli record of the 4th year mentions a native of Mahimandalam <sup>435</sup> The record at Mambayan gottur,<sup>436</sup> also of the 4th year mentions a grant of land in Kaliyayanallur in Tiruvelurnadu to the temple by M.P.C. Viragandagopala. Of the records of Viragandagopala's 5th year the Pulipakkam record gives the location of Pulipakkam in Velanandu, a sub-division of Kalatturkottam in Jayangondacolamandalam; the record from Villivalam<sup>437</sup> (Conjeevaram taluq) records grants to the deity at Vilvalam alias Irasendivasolanallur in Kaliyurnadu, a sub-division of Kaliyurkottam in Jayangondacholamandalam; and the Kuvam record<sup>438</sup> registers a grant. The next record is from Mallam<sup>439</sup> dated in the 9th year of Viragandagopala mentioning Tyagasamudrapattai Mallidevarasan.

### His Political Relations

Viragandagopala calls himself M.P.C. in a record of his 4th year. This Viragandagopala is district from Rajagandagopala<sup>440</sup> and is contemporaneous with Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas Kerala Ravivarman and Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya. He is not identical with Viragandagopala of the Telugu Pallavas, who was the successor of Vijayagandagopala and the contemporary of Ganapati, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and others. And a period of thirty years intervened between the Telugu Pallava and Telugu chola Viragandagopalas.<sup>441</sup>

Virgandagopala does not seem to have owed allegiance to any suzerain lord. He assumed the title—Tribhuvana-chakravarti. The continuance of the Chola influence, even after the cholas ceased to rule in the south, is seen from Viragandagopala's records mentioning several chola districts,

towns and villages. Viragandagopala's rule lasted up to A.D. 1302 and was contemporaneous with Manmagandagopala's rule (A.D. 1282-1279), and Rajagandagopala alias Rangana-  
than (A.D. 1299-1325). Thus we find three Telugu chola rulers exercising sway at the same time, independant of one another and acknowledging no suzerain authority. No doubt this marks the beginning of the end of the Telugu chola power which finally fell a prey to the Kakatiya expeditions.

In A.D. 1316 the Pandyas claim to have invaded Kanchi and driven Viragandagopala, a subordinate of the Kakatiyas and occupied it.<sup>442</sup> If the reference is to Viragandagopala of the Telugu cholas, as is probably it follows that he lived and ruled till that year and was subdued by the kakatiyas along with Manmagandagopala and Rajagandagopala in A.D. 1315. Probably, his capital was Kanchi, as his records show, that like Allutikka he was ruling in the southern portion of the Nellore Chola kingdom.

The Pandyan king at the time was Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya I.<sup>443</sup> Viragandagopala was vanquished by the Pandyas in A.D. 1316. Between A.D. 1302—his 9th year and A.D. 1316—the year of the Pandyan expedition, none of Viragandagopala's inscriptions are known. Neither do we have any details about the subsequent career of Viragandagopala after the Pandyan expedition.

### **The Decline**

The last of the Telugu cholas of Nellore was Rajagandagopala and no sons and successors of him are heard of. No sons of either Viragandagopala are heard of. The direct line ended with Rajagandagopala in A.D. 1325. About the same time, the kakatiyas also declined consequent on the frequent onslaughts of the Muslims on their kingdom and for want of a worthy successor of Prataparudra, and the Reddis were slowly rising into importance, and gradually became the political successors of the Kakatiyas.

### **Petty Chola Principolitics and Princes**

A number of minor Chola families and princes were found.

ruling over the different parts of the Andhra land through out this period, unconnected with the Telugu Chola dynasties dealt with above. Some of such families were the Eruvacholas, the Kanduru cholas, the Cholas of Hemavati, Nellore etc. And they acquired some important military successes.

### The Eruva Cholas, A.D. 1120-1330

A family of the Telugu cholas ruled over Eruvanadu or Eruvadesa for more than two centuries from about the beginning of the 12th to the middle of the 14th. These Cholas prefixed Eruva to their names. Barring the Eruva chola dynasty which ruled the region about Rajahmundry in the middle of the 14th century A.D.,<sup>444</sup> more than half a dozen Eruva cholas are known.

Inscriptions, recorded tradition and references in literature form the material for the history of the Eruva cholas. As for the location of their kingdom, it has been said, "Eruvanadu was a sima in which the maharajya of Kondavidu was situated. Eruvanadu might have comprised that part of the country, now known as the northern portion of Nellore and a portion of Guntur districts."<sup>445</sup> But this cannot be accepted for want of evidence. But more appropriately Eruvanadu applies to a portion of the Cuddapah district as records from that area frequently mentions Edurva and Eruvanadu along with Pottapinadu, Mulikinadu, Sakili, and so forth all located in Cuddapah area.

### Tondayaraju A.D. 1120

Tondayaraju was the earliest member known so far of the Eruva cholas. His only inscription is from Draksharama dated C.V. 46 and A.D. 1121 registering a gift by queen Mailamadevi.<sup>446</sup> Tondaya was a mahamandalesvara and bore a prasasti beginning with svasti samadhigeta etc., some of the titles being Viramahdswara, Koduru puravavesvara, suryavansodhbhava-kulatilaka, Karyapagotra and Karikalanvaya.

Tondaya's capital was Kodur. Tondaya acknowledged the suzerainty of Vikramaditya VI—Tribhuvanamalladeva whose

prasasti is found in Tondaya's inscription. The political condition of Vengi about this time was as follows—The Chola power was at its lowest ebb and the Chalukya power at its highest under the aegis of Vikramaditya VI. All the local powers in Vengi including the Velanandu chodas recognised to chalukya supremacy though temporarily. And Eruva Tonda was no exception. Tonda has a minister in a member of the Vempala family for one of the titles in the Vempala family prasasti<sup>447</sup> is Eruvatondabhupati clakshina bhujadanda—the sceptre in the right arm of Eruva Tonda.

### **Mallideva Choda (A.D. 1250)**

After a long interval of nearly a century, after Tonda, about A.D. 1250, Mallideva<sup>448</sup> is heard of. In his Tripuran-takam inscription<sup>449</sup> of A.D. 12 (57) he is mentioned as (Eruva) Manumilidevaraja. In another record<sup>450</sup> there, the king's name Manumali is lost, the date is doubtful and “and king's birudas are nearly the same” as in the previous record. His titles call him the lord of Orayur and of the lineage of Karikala.

Mallideva had not recognised Kakatiya suzerainty. In this period the Kayastha power was widespread. Probably Mallideva rebelled against the Kayasthas and consequently force their enmity. For he fought the Kayastha expedition under Ambadeva, was vanquished and killed and his armies were routed. For the legend on some of the Kayastha coins<sup>451</sup> was Eruvadisapatta—scatterer in several directions of the army of Eruva. Ambadeva had the title Eruvammallidevatalagonduganda. Obviously Mallideva and Manumalideva are identical and not distinct.

### **Gangamallideva or Allugangadeva C 1300**

Gangamallideva or Allugangaraja is known from the records of his son at Tallaproduddur dated A.D. 1322.<sup>452</sup> So he may be placed tentatively about A.D. 1300. He is mentioned as Jagatapa Ganga<sup>453</sup> which suggests his conquest of Jagatapi i.e. Gooty (Anantapur distt.)

Some of his contemporaries were—Viragandagopala and

Rajagandagopala of the Telugu cholas, Prataparudra of the Kakatiyas and Ambadeva of the Kayasthas. Alluganga's queen was Gangadevi. He too rebelled against Ambadeva and was vanquished by him.<sup>454</sup>

### **Gangayadeva C M. A.D. 1322**

(Gangaya) deva C.M. was also known as (Naya) deva C.M. In A.D. 1322 he donated a tank at Tallapradatur for the merit of his parents.<sup>455</sup> Records and literature speak of Gangaya's valour. Some of the titles in his prasasti are sevanadughdhambhonidhana parimadhana labdhelakshmidakshina bhujamandara, Killer of Gogula Kumara, Oranrabhimanisirahkandukotpatan, Samsobhitatatsantatilata praroaha, Asvarohagandapandara, and Gangayasahini sarvasvabandi kara i.e., capturer of the wealth of Gangayasahini.

This series of brilliant victories over the Yadavas of Devagiri, Jogulakumara, Oranrabhima and Gangayashini must have been achieved by Gangayadeva C.M. "quite early in his youth and...he was pretty old at the time of Tallaproduddur inscription (A.D. 1322)"<sup>456</sup> Oraura Bhima has been identified with Bhimadeva C.M. of the Kanduru<sup>457</sup> cholas and obviously Gangayasahini was the first of the Kayastha rulers. The title - asvaraha gandapandara speaks for the expert horsemanship of Gangayadeva C.M.

### **Bhima**

Eruva Bhima is praised in some—Telugu—chata verses.<sup>458</sup> One verse says when the horse was harnessed by Eruva Bhima for the battle the following countries trembled with fear—Visaranadu (on the banks of the Godavari), Chakrakota (in Baskar state), Manne kings near Ganjam, Manthena to the north of Warangal, Vengi and Kalinga.<sup>459</sup> The record mentioning these victories is just below the Tallaproduddur record in characters of the 14th century A.D. and gives the panygeric of Eruva Bhima whose relationship to Gangaya C.M. is not known.

### The Kanduru Cholas A.D. 1080-1260

A branch of the Telugu cholas ruled in the Nizam's dominions with capitals at Kanduru, Penugal and Vardhamanapura. Their kingdom corresponds to parts of Mahboobnagar and Nalgonda districts. They owed allegiance to the Kakatiyas and the chalukyas of Kalyani.

Records of the Kanduru cholas and references in Kakatiya inscriptions, form the sources for their history. The descent of the family is as follows<sup>460</sup> in Karikala's lineage was born Gokarna, a great hero. His son was Udayaditya. His sons were Bhima and Gokarna, who were like the sun and moon and friendly like Siva and Kesava.

#### Gokarna A.D. 1083

Gokarna was the earliest known member of the line. A record<sup>461</sup> at Kolanupaka (Nalgonda district) and C.V. 13 and the reign of Tribhuvanamalla gives the prasasti of these Cholas beginning with samadhigata etc., and including the titles paramamahesvara, lord of Kodur, dasavarma maha...like of Kasyapagotra and kalikala lineage. The name of the king and donor is preserved in parts—mahamandalesvara Kandura...tonda lala...ka...raja. c.v. 13 corresponds to A.D. 1083.

The references to Kodur and Dasavarma seem to suggest the family's connection with the Pottapi cholas. The capital Kanduru is 22 miles from Jedcherla (Mahboobnagar district).

#### Udayaditya A.D. 1160

Udayaditya was the son and successor of Gokarna I. Rudradeva's Hanumakonda inscription<sup>462</sup> says that Prola defeated King Govinda and gave his kingdom to king Udaya. This Udaya is evidently Udayaditya. His earliest inscription<sup>463</sup> is from Jedcherla, which is 30 miles to the north of Panugal and records a grant by a general of Udayachoda, dated A.D. 1162, its registers grants by his tole officers In C.V. 84 the the king Kanduri Udayanachoda, bearing a prasasti granted the coins—Koduri Gokarna raksha to the deity.

### His Political Relations

Udaya is mentioned as mahamandalesvara Kanduri Odayanadeva chola, Kanduri Udayanachoda, Uduyaditya, Udayachoda and chodadaya in inscriptions. He bore the titles—Kodurpuravarasvara, Suryavamsodhbhavakulatilaka, Kasyapagotra and Karikalanvaya etc. Udayaditya thus, owed his kingdom to Prola of the kakatiyas, and owed allegiance to Somesvara III of the chalukyas of Kalyani—some opine<sup>464</sup> that probably Udayaditya must have sided Prola in fighting on behalf of the Kalachuris in A.D. 1157 against Taila III of the chalukyas, and was rewarded with a kingdom.

Soon after, Udaya tried to set up independence and consequently came into conflict with the contemporary Kakatiya ruler Rudradeva and was subdued by him. For the Hanumakonda inscription dated A.D. 1162 says that in pursuing Bhima. Rudradeva, burnt the capital of Chodedaya, cut down the forest in which he took refuge, and built a city with a tank in the midst of it. Then peace was concluded between Rudra and Chododaya and the former married Padumavati, the daughter<sup>465</sup> of the latter. Telugu literature of the period refers to Udayavamsa and his minister Pengali Govinda.<sup>466</sup> This king Udaya is identical with Chododaya or Udayachoda.

To suggest<sup>467</sup> the identity of Udaya with Gonka II of the Velanandus is wrong and also the suggestion of the existence of three persons—Udayaditya, udayachoda and chodadaya where as all the names refer to a single person. Probably Udayaditya is the builder of the tank - Udayadityasamudram at Penugal, existing to this day, though the date 10th century A.D. assigned to him and the tank<sup>468</sup> is too early for inscriptions show that he lived in the 12th century A.D.

### Bhima and Gokarna

Bhima and Gokarna. sons of Udaya probably ruled together. In A.D. 1118 Vilambi, they gave lands in Tummata and Madigallu to Narasimha of Chutagoosh agrahara as recorded in their Mamillapalle inscription.<sup>469</sup> Another Mamillapalle

inscription<sup>470</sup> dated Saumya, of Kanduri Gokarnadeva C.M. gives his prasasti. Except the title, durvaravaradhiraja the other epithets are same as those of his predecessors. A grant of land in Chandrakanti chintala Kuntasthalamu was made by a subordinate of the king. Gokarna's record of Elesvaram dated C.V. 33 mentions him as mahamandalesvara Kanduri Gokarnadeva C.M. gives his usual prasasti and records grant of Peddakonduru to the deity.<sup>471</sup> C.V. 33 corresponds to A.D. 11007-8. A record at Panugal dated C.V. 84 mentions Melambika and her three sons—Udayaditya, Bhima and Gokarna.

Bhima by his bad rule brought on himself the wrath of Rudradeva which spelt his ruin. The Hanumakonda inscription says that Bhima was the husband of his step mother, the slayer of his brother, while he was dining and by similar acts became the enemy of Rudradeva. Rudra started with his armies advanced a short distance and took the city of Vardhamanagiri, Bhima accompanied by his mother, brothers and wife fled to forests. Rudra pursued him and cut down the forest. Probably Bhima was captured but pardoned by Rudra for the inscription says<sup>472</sup> that Bhima and all other kings living between the province of Kanchi and Vindhya mountains were subject to Rudradeva. Bhima is probably identical with mahamandalesvara Bhima figuring in Panugal epigraph mentioning Tallapadeva with his chalukya prasasti.

It is likely that the brother slain by Bhima was Unayaditya who was older than him and not Gokarna who ruled conjointly with Bhima and issued records.<sup>473</sup>

From a record near the Siva temple at Panugal bearing the date A.D. 1280 and of the reign of Kumara Rudradeva are known Tondakshitisa and Chodabhimananarayana, sons of Bhimaraja by Mailambika and their queens.<sup>474</sup> So Bhima identical with Bhima of the Kuchakapalle inscription (A.D. 1234) probably ruled till about A.D. 1250 and was succeeded by his sons Tonda and Chodabhimananarayana on the throne. In A.D. 1234 Kunduri Bhima granted Kuchakapalle to local Elesvara temple.<sup>475</sup>

### **Tonda and Chodabhimanarayana 1250-1282**

Tonda and Chodabhimanarayana were definitely ruling in A.D. 1282 as the feudatories of Kumara Rudradeva i.e. Prataparudra of the Kakatiys as attested by Panugal record.<sup>476</sup> No sons and successors of Tonda and Chodabhimanarayana are heard of. So probably the Kandur cholas ceased to be a power by A.D. 1300.

*Other Members :* Kanduri Rudraya choda, a mahamandallesvara is heard of from a record at Nelakondapalle.<sup>477</sup> (Warangal district) dated A.D. 1125. This record mentioning a grant in Kondapallepaddcheruvu is wrongly attributed to Udayachoda, A record at Burugunadda (Nalgonda District) gives the Prasasti of a Kandur chola ruler whose name is lost. He had the titles - lord of Kandur of solar lineage of Kasyapa gotra. and Karikalavamsa.<sup>478</sup>

### **A New Family of the Telugu Cholas (Nellore)**

A telugu chola ruler of the Telugu country, hitber to unknown claims to have ruled over the country between Nellore and Kalingaka. He is known from a c.p. grant of three plates,<sup>479</sup> but incomplete. The donor, king Sambhu choda, son of Rama choda traces his descent from Brahma through his son Kasyapa, whose son was Visvavasu (i.e. sun). In solar race was born Kusa and in his lineage was born Sambhu choda. His queen Periyanchchi was the daughter of Chitsukha

### **Chakravarti**

Sambhuchoda's capital was Nellorehapura i.e. probably Nellore. He defeated his enemies in a battle at Pithapur. He pleased god Bhairava who pointed out to him a hidden treasure on the Kotyadri hill.<sup>480</sup> He had two sons, Agastivara choda and Shanmukha choda, born after the performance of Putrarthuyagna in the presence of gods at Ranmeru chelrole.

Sambhuchoda ruled for fifty years, for in the 50th year of his reign, when the battle with the king of Kalinga took place, he installed his two sons as Yuvarajas.<sup>481</sup> Possibly, the installation

preceded his march to the battle. On that occasion, he assembled his chief Provincial officers (*rashttrakuta pramajcha*) among whom find mention Periya sambhuraja and Chiriya Sambhuraya and ordered the gift of kummaduru on the Tungabhadra to the deities of Mandara and chebrole.

Sambhu choda lived in the 12th century A.D. as the palaeography of the record shows.<sup>482</sup> So he must have owed allegiance to the chola emperors and their representatives.—the Velanandu chodas. His victories at Pithapur and Kalinga were secured probably when he along with other rulers in Vengi accompanied the cholas in their northward campaigns into Kalinga. The battles at Pithapur and Kalinga are not identical.<sup>483</sup> One may agree with the epigraphist when he says “the king sambhuchoda was a chola must have got into power in the telugu country as a result of the chola conquest of Kalinga in the time of Kulottunga I and Vikrama chola.”<sup>484</sup> But he is wrong when he says “They might have belonged to the family to which Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya belonged. The Sambunarayanas must have accompanied the chola kings to the North to help them in the conquest of the Telugu country and continued to rule there subsequently as local officers.”<sup>485</sup> For despite the close similarity in names the Telugu cholas are distinct from the Sambuvarayas : for the former claim solar descent whereas the latter were of Pallava lineage besides the fact that the Sambuvarayas never ruled in the Telugu country.

In the 13th century A.D. a family of the Telugu cholas were ruling locally about Atmakur in Nellore district. Mahamandalesvara Vijayaditya deva Maharaja was the earliest known member of the family. His son was mahamandalesvara Malideva M. In A.D. 1290 Binnamanayakudu, son of Mand Sunkinayakuni Kesavanayaka and grandson of Badhya Madraraju made a grant of Bayindi padu at Atmakur.<sup>486</sup> Badya madraraja's prasasti begins with svastianekagunamanikirana lamkrita etc and has the epithets - lord of Orayur, Gaudara ganda and Jagamachchuganda. Thus he was a great hero and a popular ruler. His son Kesava was a Bayya who (?) bore many titles. These cholas are not heard of from other records.<sup>48</sup>

Singayadeva Gadideva—the bearer of charana saroruh.

prasasti is evidently a Telugu chola ruler and is distinct from Singaya of the chekranarayana line of the yadavas of Addanki with whom he had been often confused by previous writers. Singayadeva Gadideva claims to be of the race of Karkala. Of his two records is from Edururallapadu<sup>488</sup> (Darsi taluq) registering a grant to the deity at Pratishtapura by Kamminayadu, the governor of Tadlur, for the merit of Singayadeva Gadideva, the ruler of Nellore and Rudradeva M, the ruler of Kondavidu, his parents and himself.

The records show that Singayadeva also known as Perumandideva C.M. was a warrior as his title Sahattumalla shows. He may be placed in the first half of the 13th century A.D., as his son lived during the middle of that century. These cholas holding local sway in a portion of the Nellore district owed allegiance to the Kakatiyas, Ganapati and Rudrama as the latter finds place in Gadideva's record. Gadideva styled himself the lord of Nellore.

In the 15th century A.D. a family of the Telugu cholas in the Guntur district was subordinate to the kings of Vijayanagar. From two records<sup>489</sup> in Ongole dated A.D. 1426-27, a Vennusambeta Alamandala Nakayadeva Choda Tribhuvana is heard of. His son was Vira Anbaladeva C.M. who made two grants for the merit of his overlord Virabukka of Vijayanagar. These Telugu cholas were of solar lineage and had nothing in common with their namesakes in the Naga family.

Anbala's record from Kanuparti dated A.D. 1426 records the grant of the village for the merit of Vijayabukkaraya Maharaya, son of Rajaparamesvara Viradevaraya Maharaya II and Demamba (i.e. Hemamba). The king is mentioned as Viraanbaladeva C.M. son of Alamandala Nakayadeva C.M. His other record with the same date and place records a gift of land to Brahmins. The record from Nagulappalapadu,<sup>490</sup> dated A.D. 1428 relates to the above cholas reveals three generations. Tirumalaraja by Peddamadevulamma had a son - mahamandalesvara. Tribhuvana Venna Sambeta Alamandala Anavdhayadeva C.M. who by chennamadevalamma had a son Gangayadeva C.M. the donor. The exact relationship of Gangaya to Anbala is not known.

There were chief claiming chola descent even during the later Vijayanagar period Ramaya C.M. of solar race and Kasyapa gotra is known from a record at Jambai dated A.D. 1507 of the reign of Viramarasingaraya, son of Saluva Narasingaraya of Vijayanagar.<sup>491</sup> Tippaiyadeva M and his son Bogaiyadeva C M. entitled – Mahamandalesvara chola Kalatilaka and Urayyur puravaradadhis was a feudatory of Achyutaraya of Vijayanagar.<sup>492</sup> Kanchiraju Rangayadeva M figuring in a record at Gopavaram (Cuddapah district) was a subordinate of Achyutaraya.<sup>493</sup>

Mahamandalesvara Tribhuvana birudula Vennu Sambeta Alamandala Kokolani deva C.M. is heard of from four records<sup>494</sup> dated s 4564—a mistake for Koli 4590 at Ellore. The epithets borne by Deva C.M. are same as those of Alamandala Anbala and gangaya. So obviously Deva C.M. is another member that family of the Telugu cholas.

Apart the Telugu cholas in the Vijayanagar period, Professor Sastri says “In A.D. 1481 and 1530 we find inscriptions in the island of Srirangam recording gifts by Valaka Kamaya and Chennaya Balaya, both bearing the characteristic choda title Uraiur puravaresvara”<sup>495</sup> Some cholas are mentioned in the Kolinjavadi plates<sup>496</sup> of Achyutaraya of Vijayanagar. Among the latest references to chieftains of chola extraction must be counted an interesting record from Kambhakonam of the grant of two villages for worship and offerings to Adikumbasvara by mahamandalesvara Gururaja Rudradeva Solu maharaja in s 1476 (A.D 1554).<sup>497</sup>

Mahamandalesvara Brahmideva C.M. grandson of a certain Brahmideva and Bhogaladevi is heard of from a record at Moparru<sup>498</sup> (Pulivendla taluq) dated A.D. 1309-10 Virabijjadeva, bearing many titles similar to those of Nellore cholas, is heard of from an inscription at Tuduru<sup>499</sup> (Siddhavatam taluq). One of his titles is Rajagandagopala.

King Baddena occupies an important place in Telugu literature. He was of solar race and some of his titles are - lord of the country to the south of the Krishna, Vagichalukyama-lasthambha, ripudalika kumbha, Nannagandhavarama, dasadisabharananka, ravikulasekhara and narendrachaturanana.

His records are few and his date cannot be determined.

with accuracy and neither the country of his rule. One author makes him a feudatory of Bhavanaikamalla i.e. Somesvara III of the chalukyas of Kalyani. On the basis of his titles Nannichodanarendra, bhupadilipa and Nannagandharavarana, his identity with Nannichoda, the author of Kumarasambhava and with Nannayagandhavarana, the minister of Siddhaya and grand father of Siddhanamantri, to whom Vikramarka charitra is dedicated has been suggested. But all these datas are baseless and wrong. The date of Nanichoda himself is far from certain and Gandhavarana lived about A.D. 1440 to 1450.

Tradition has it that Gorytla bavi, mentioned in Beddana's work is at a distance of four miles from Baddevole. So he must have ruled in its neighbourhood. But it seems more probable that he ruled in Shatsahasra—in the 2nd part of the 13th century A.D. after the Velanandu kingdom ceased to exist. His only record is dated A.D. 1261. And he must have inherited the titles indicating the lordship over Shatsahasra and chief pillar of Vengi chalukyas from the Velanandu chodas in whose prasasti they are found. Baddena was also known as Bhadrabhupala and perhaps Nannichoda. He was a warrior as indicated by his titles - dilipa among kings, and breaker of heads of enemies.

Mahamandalesvara Karikaladeva C.M. and the Mottavadi district find mention in a Tripurantakam epigraph of A.D. 1168 and the 37th year of Kulottunga II. Mahamandalesvara Vijayadeva C.M. son of Karikala C.M. is heard of from a record at Kandra Multa dated A.D. 11 (65). Obviously Karikalas of the two records are identical and Vijayadeva's titles are identical with those of Tribhuvanamalla C.M. Another Karikala was during about A.D. 1350. For in A.D. 1353, a nayaka made some grants for the merit of Ramayaka. His titles show that he was the lord of Alakuntala and capturer of the forts - belonging to Karikala chola and the beheader of Manmamallideva.

In a record at Tripurantakam dated A.D. 1343, some Telugu chola chiefs are mentioned. A chola feudatory bearing the usual chola birudas is heard of from an inscription at

Sangamesvaram. Bhimarasa of the Telugucholas is known from a record at Siddharamapuram. Mahamandalesvara Harideva C.M. a feudatory of Ganapathi of the Kakatiyas is heard of from the records at Gangavaram (Darsi taluq). Pantadeva C.M. is heard of from a record at Kochcherla Kota dated A.D. 1177. Nilkantha C.M. made grants at Ramakuru either in A.D. 1277 or 1337, as the saka year in the inscription is indefinite. Sankara choda M, his queen Padmaladevi and daughter Mallakanidevi figure in a record at Gangavaram (Mahboobnagar taluq) of the reign of Trailokyamalla. Bidana C.M. and Nirugani C.M. are heard of from records.

Jata choda of the Telugu cholas figures in a record at Conjeevaram dated A.D. 1000. He bore many titles and was captured by Rajaraja I of the cholas. Choda maharaja alias Permandideva of Manduru and his wife Rekamahdevi figure in a record at Komuvuru dated A.D. 1129.

Mahamandalesvara choda maharaja Narapatiraju and his son Narapatraju are heard of from a record at Ellore, dated A.D. 1228. Tinmadeva maharaja and his sons one of whom is mahamandalesvara Dasavarmadeva M are mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1322 at Chinnakraka. A choda is mentioned in a record at Nandigama, dated A.D. 1328. Vandadeva Gandarnganda Manyabhumi nayaningaru probably a Telugu chola is mentioned in a record at Yepuru. Madayya Narasimha of the race of Karikala is heard of from a record at Vulichi<sup>500</sup> (Ongole taluq). A record dated A.D. 1447 in the reign of Mallikarjuna of Vijayanagar, at Annakkavur (North Arcot) mentions manamandalesvara Gurunathadeva C.M.<sup>501</sup> Tondaiyaru of the solar race. Kasyapa gotra and Karikala lineage is mentioned in a record at Kalujuvvalapadu.<sup>502</sup> Apratimalla Immadi Rajayya, his son Ramarajayya and grandson mahamandalesvara Murtirajayadeva C.M. of Bharadvaja gotra made a grant of land at Vengipuram.<sup>503</sup> A Telugu chola chief, lord of Kodurupura, of solar race and Kasyapa gotra made grants at Konakanchi. A record at Manikesvaram is dated in the 6th year of Mahamandalesvara Chodamadeva M. Jagatapi. Errayadeva C.M. and his agent Timmaraja figure in an inscription at Marudadu<sup>504</sup> (North Arcot district).

Mahamandalesvara Manmaramachandra was evidently a Telugu chola as a title of his is lord of Orayur.<sup>505</sup> A Telugu chola chief bearing a prasasti-some of the titles being Lord of Orayur, a great warrior, destroyer of enemies and worshipper of Tripurantaka is heard of from a Draksharama epigraph<sup>506</sup> Mahamandalesvara Tribhuvana chakravarti Kulottunga Chodadeva,<sup>507</sup> probably a Telugu Chola of the Nellore branch is heard of from a record undated at Candavaram. For, the epithet Tribhuvana chakravarti was borne by the Nellore cholas from the time of Tikka onwards.

### The Telugu Cholas of Hemavati

As feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, a branch of the Telugu cholas ruled the tracts about Nidugal and Hemavati-several of their records are found at Konakandla, Eradukera, Kanbudura, and other places in modern Anantapur district. Some other Telugu cholas ruled in the districts of Cuddapah. Kurnool etc. as feudatories of the Kalyani Chalukyas.

The earliest member was mahamandalesvara Chiddanadeva C.M. ruling over Sindavadi 1000. He bore a prasasti beginning with Charana saroruha etc. and some of his titles are-- ayyanasingha, Kanchipura samharana, and Balenarayana. He was the feudatory of Trailokyamalladeva i.e. Somesvara II. His record dated A.D. 1059 is from Donekallu (Gooty taluq). Mahamandalesvara Bijjana C.M. was ruling over Kanna 300, Pedakal 800, and Naravadi 500 from Etageri in A.D. 1079. His prasasti is similar to that of Chiddanadeva C.M. He made a grant at Sangamesvara (Nandikotkur taluq) in c.v. 3 (A.D. 1079). Ballaya chola M was ruling Sindavadi 1000 is a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla i.e. Vikramaditya VI. In A.D. 1088 and c.v. 12 he made a grant at Konakandla (Gooty taluq). Tribhuvanamalla C.M. Chateyana figures in a record at Thinnatambulam (Adoni taluq). The Uravakonda inscription dated c.v. 30 (A.D. 1109) mentions mahamandalesvara Ghateyana C.M. a subordinate of Vikramaditya VI. He was ruling over Kaniyakallu.

Dasavarmadeva, Irugala C.M. and Bijjana C.M. were the

feudatories of Vikramaditya VI. Vankana C.M. ruled over Hadavikallu, Kannenadu, and Renadu from Nandyala, as the feudatory of Somesvara III. His record dated c.v. 58 and A.D. 1134 is at Kolimigundla. Bhagadeva C.M. was ruling from Jenjeru as a feudatory of Somesvara IV.

Madhurantakadeva C.M. and his son Jagatapa Dandideva C.M., feudatories of Yadava Narasinga are heard of from a record at Nilur (Gooty taluq) dated in the 6th year of Yadava Narasinga. A record at Nindali (Venkatagiri taluq) mentions Aprati malla Bachayadeva choda and registers the grant of Siddhavaram to the god at Draksharama. A Chola M and his grandson Rayapuraja figure in two records at Ramapuram (Madakasira taluq) date A.D. 1483.

The titles—Chodakatakavajraprakara of the Mutnulla family. Chodaraiyastha paracharya of the Balasetla family and Karikala chodaraja padarndhaka and Rajendra chodarajya pratipalaka of the Karkanti family—perhaps show that some early members of these families served the Telugu cholas. The names Tribhuvana malla Mallideva and Trailokyamalla Mallideva show the practice of the feudatory assuming names and titles of their overlords.

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27. 642 of 1920.
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29. 316, 377 of 1915.
30. 195 of 1897 : S.I.I. VI 155. The mention of Koturadeva choda in the Remarks column of the epigraphist's summary is a mistake.
31. 406 of 1893 : S.I.I.
32. 102 of 1922. The colas II-II p.
33. 183 of 1897 . S.I.I. VI 143.
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38. 210. of 1897. S.I.I. VI 170. AD 1195 correspondents to the 3rd year Kulottunga II.
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75. 805 of 1922
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84. *Ibid.*
85. 178 of 1899 : S.I.I. VI 139.
86. Ins. Mad. Pres. Icd, 861 : 15-4-15 Ms p 20 No, 5 p. 22 No. 9. It gives the name as Kama Choda.
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92. 100 of 1922 : The colas II-II p 624.
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94. 584 of 1907.
95. 585 of 1907.
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120. A.R. 1916 II para 51.
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122. Ins. Mad. Pres. II Gt. p 761 fn, 2 : 15-4-41 MS p 8.
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124. Mack. Ms. 15-4-31 Ms. p 58.
125. Mack Ms. 15-4-28 Ms. p 254 ; 15-4-24 p 104.
126. *Ibid.*
127. Mack Ms. 15-4-28 p 235 : 15-4-24 p 108.
128. Mack Ms, 15-3-8.
129. The identification of Pottapı with Kalahastı-Historical inscriptions of S. India p 395 is mistaken, based on confusing the Yadavarayas with the Telugu cholas.

130. Utsur is in Suturpet division of Nellore Dt. I. A. 8 p 9 fn. 50. But Ujyapuri is probably Ujipuram or Ujipuram-18 miles e.a.e. of Kollegal (Coimbatore Dt.) E.I.VII No. 17.
131. Uttara Ra I vv 27-28.
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133. 105 of 1924: The Colas II-II pp. 668.
134. Nell. Ins. II Nell. No. 40.
135. Nell. Ins. II p. 808 Note : The Colas II-II p. 684.
136. I.A. 38 p. 10.
137. Nell. Ins. II Nell. No. 82.
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141. E.I. VII No 21-A.
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145. 583 of 1907.
146. 621 of 1902: S.I.I. VIII 218
147. E.I. VII No. 17 A V15.
148. Nell. Ins. Nell. 85. The Colas II-I p. 137 Prof. in fn 103 while admitting that Venkayya was right in saying that the record is mutilated with date lost (I A 38 p. 10 fn 58) determines the date thus (The padavadu with which the 2nd line begins and the dates in other insens.
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150. *Ibid*
151. Colas II-I p 137 pp 103.
152. E.I. VII No 17-B-VV 11-14. II-I p. 139.
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158. The Colas II-I p. 140 fn. 115.
159. Nell. Ins. I Atmakur 26.
160. Nell. Ins. I AR 38.
161. Nell. Ins. III A.R. Rapur 37.
162. Nell. Ins. I Atmakur. 45.
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170. 580 of 1907: AR 1908 para 74 - genealogical table No 4
171. Nell. Ins II Kavali 39
172. 578 of 1907
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175. The Colas II-I p. 141.
176. E.I. VII No. 21-A Kjelhorn· Hists. p. 141 No. 883.
177. Nell. Ins. I Gudur 86: The Colas II-II p 711
178. Nell Ins I Gudur 86: Ins Mad. Pres II NL 243
179. E.I. VII No. 17 A V 19 B.V. 15
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181. E.I. VII No 21-B
182. EI VII No. 17-A
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184. E.I. VII No. 21-A: 343 of 1928 II para 40
185. Nell. Ins II Kavali 39
186. 195 of 1894 S.II V 494
187. Sewell. Histo of Antiquities I Conj. No 246
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190. The Colas II-I pp 141-142
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211. Nell. Ins III V 19
212. 34 of 1893 S.II IV 847
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215. 629 of 1919· Mack Ms 15-3-8 Ms p 65 No. 4
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237. The Colas II-I p 202.
238. The Colas II-I p. 202.
239. N. Ramayana I v 33.
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268. Nirvachana Ramayana I v 33
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279. Nirvachana ch. I v 31.
280. Dasaku. ch. I v 14
281. Mack. Ms. 15-3-18
282. Eurvamannila neraputta ga naha-perhaps in curring their jealousy.
283. Dasaku ch. I v 66
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286. Nell Ins. Nell.16.
287. 563 of 1919
288. 114 of 1932-33.
289. 553 of 1919, 308 of 1928-29, 300 of 1921, 565 of 1919, Nell. Ins. I Gudur 77, 323 of 1928-29
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304. 47 of 1893 : S.I.I. IV 860
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306. 562 of 1919.
307. *Ibid*
308. 348 of 1934-35.
309. 552 of 1912.
310. 598 of 1907
311. Nell. Ins II U 48-95 year is AD 1255 On the basis of this record minister Tikkaya and king Allutikka are identified which is wrong I.A. 38 p 11
312. Ins Mad Pres. II NL 190-A.
313. Nell Ins II KR 60
314. 580 of 1907 Ins. Mad Pres. X ed 794 A R 1908 II 72-73 The Colas II-I p 217 Compilers of Nell Ins give the date AD 1258-59
315. 437 of 1911.
316. 432 of 1919 Ins Mad Pres II (NL) 190-C.
317. Nell Ins II KR 26 Ins Mad Pres II NL. 297
318. Nell. Ins. II KR 61 "The cyclic year corresponds with s 1182 current" So the date is given as AD 1259-60
319. Nell. Ins II KR 63

320. Nell. 3 Ins. II Kavali 43. Ins. Mad. Pres. II NL 445.
321. Mack MS 15-9-8 MS p 53.
322. 391 of 1919.
323. 106 of 1929: The Colas II p. 794.
324. The Colas II-I p. 207.
325. E.R. Rao: His. of Andhras V pp 405-406
326. Nell. Ins. II p. 830 No. 16.
327. History of Andhras V p. 492.
328. Lives of Tel Poets I pp. 88, 95 sec. Citation pp. 89-92.
329. 15-4-5 Ms pp. 45-46. Biographies of Te Poets p. 85. In Professor Sastri's words "We have not as yet any distinct evidence of the date of Ganapati's interference, if he actually did interfere in the manner just mentioned" The Colas II-I p. 204
330. Mack MS 15-4-3 MS p 74.
331. Mack Ms 15-4-3 Ms pp. 101-102
332. 607 of 1910. Mack. Ms. 15-4-41 MS p 137 No. 3.
333. I.A 38 p 84 fn 95.
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346. 173, 268 of 1905: The Colas II-I p. 193 fn 57
347. N.U. Ramayana. I V 39.
348. N.U. Ramayana. I V 41
349. Mysore Gazetteer. II-II p. 1312.
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351. N.U. Ramayana. I V 39.
352. 580 of 1907
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354. 206 of 1894: S II V 505- Nell Ins. II Kavali 40
355. N.U. Ramayana I vv 37, 38.
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357. N.U. Ramayana. I vv 42, 44
358. 233 of 1903: S II. VIII 532.
359. 175 of 1905
360. 188 of 1905. Sell. Ins II KR 64.
361. Sewell: Hists. I Conjeevaram 47-20th year. AD 1270.
362. 597 of 1907.
363. Nell. Ins. I Gudur 45
364. Nell. Ins II pp. 794-797 No 31.
365. E.I. XII No. 16: I.A 38 p 86 ft
366. Mack Ms 15-4-3 Ms. p 74
367. Mack. Ms 15-4-3 Ms. p 78.

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368. Nell. Ins. II pp 794-7 No. 31 The record is at Kanupartipadu.
369. Mack. Ms. p. 58. No. 1
370. 672 of 1904: Ins. Mad Pres I c 9892
371. Nell. Ins. I AR 57
372. Nell. Ins. II Podile 32 Ins Mad Pres II No. 613
373. 313 of 1905.
374. 204 of 1892 S.II VI 650
375. 213 of 1892 S.II. IV 661
376. Historical Ins of S. India pp 165, 169, 171 etc
377. Historical Ins of S India pp 172, 173, 174. AR 1900 para 51. EI VIII No 18, p 87.
378. Narasaraopet Ins. 213 of 1892. S.II IV 661.
379. Kakatiya sanchika
380. 213 of 1892 S.II IV 661
381. 173 of 1905: Ins Mad Pres II Kurn 266.
382. 179 of 1905: Ins. Mad Pres II Kurn 272.
383. Mack. Ms. 15-4-3 Ms p 74
384. Mack. Ms 15-4-3 Ms p 88
385. Mack. Ms. 15-4-3 Ms p 88
386. 213 of 1892 S.II IV 661
387. Sivayogasara: Kalingadesacharitra p 386.
388. 238 of 1905: S.II. VI 1807
389. 308 of 1915
390. Prof K.A.N. Sastri. The Pandyan Kingdom p 259.
391. Bharati VI-II p 944
392. I v 32.
393. 213 of 1892 S.II. IV 661
394. EI. VII No 18.
395. I A v d 37 pp 86, 87
396. *Ibid*
397. 82 of 1900 SII VII 90.
398. *Ibid*
399. Nell. Ins. II Nell. 71 194 of 1894. SII V 493. Sewell thinks that the sixth year may refer to Manmasiddha III i.e. Manmagandagopala was not hoard of after AD 1291 Hist, Ins. p. 172 But this is wrong for the 6th year of Manmasiddha III i.e. Manumagandagopala is AD 1287 6th year of the king-AD 1296 is correct
400. Nell Ins. II Nell. 62
401. Nell Ins. II Nell. 60
402. Nell Ins. I Gudur 115
403. Nell Ins. II Kavalı 35, 37
404. Sewell Ins conjeevaram No 74
405. 191 of 1912
406. Nell Ins II Nell 74
407. 609 of 1909
408. 301 of 1921
409. 43 of 1893 EI VII No 18 pp 128-132
410. 469 of 1919.
411. 222 of 1910 Ins Mad Ms CI 86
412. Nell. Ins. I Gudur 115
413. 348, 251 of 1922

414. 46, 43, 44 of 1931-32.
415. 199 of 1903: S.I.I. VIII 498
416. 387 of 1919.
417. Nell. Ins. II Nell. 12.
418. 518 of 1908.
419. 489 of 1919.
420. 364 of 1928-29.
421. J.G.R. 12 p. 203. text p 215. Mack. Ms 15 4 4 Ms p. 37 No. 209 15 4.4 pp 37
422. I.A. 38 p 37
423. Sewell ~~Historical~~ Ins. of S. India pp 179-180
424. His ~~of~~ Viras V pp 572-573
425. R.V ~~to~~ History of Andhras B pp. 572-575.
426. *Ibid* B. 574
427. A R 1928 II para 56
428. A R. 1928 II para 42
429. Sewell. Historical inscns of S India
430. 178, 179 of 1916
431. 50 of 1932-33 date 7th January, 1293
432. 603 of 1919, 183 of 1929-30 659 of 1904
433. 224 of 1929-30
434. 109 of 1923.
435. 165 of 1916
436. 233 of 1910 A R. 1911 II para 16.
437. 11 of 1932-33
438. 79 of 1923.
439. 335 of 1909. Ins. Mad Pres. e g 1160
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